

Winter 1948

Vol. II No. 1



PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS

JOURNAL OF THE HANSARD SOCIETY

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CONTENTS	Page
HANSARD SOCIETY NEWS	
By Stephen King-Hall	3
THE PRIVY COUNCIL TODAY	
By the Rt. Hon. Herbert Morrison, M.P. ..	10
WOMEN IN LEGISLATURES	
By Lady Megan Lloyd George, M.P.	18
LOBBY CORRESPONDENTS	
By Guy Eden	25
THE FOURTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE HANSARD SOCIETY	33
HANSARD REPORTING IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA	
By A. E. Lamb	45
LEGISLATIVE BUILDINGS OF THE WORLD—III	
CANADA'S PARLIAMENT BUILDING. By S. D. B. ..	47
PARLIAMENT AND THE CONVOCATIONS OF THE CHURCH	
By Canon G. W. O. Addleshaw, M.A., B.D. (Oxon.)	52
THE BUNGA	
By E. W. Pearce	60
THE QUEEN OF TONGA AND OUR JOURNAL	64
THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT—II	66
EIRE AND THE COMMONWEALTH	78
CORRESPONDENCE	81
CORRESPONDENCE FROM GERMANY	85
BOOKS AND GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED ..	88
BOOK REVIEWS	
By Ivor Thomas, M.P., the Hon. Ronald Davies, M.A., and S. D. B.	90

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HANSARD SOCIETY NEWS

by STEPHEN KING-HALL

Chairman of the Council and Honorary Director

ON pages 33-44 of this issue of the Journal will be found the report of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Society. Writing before the event I can only hope that it will prove acceptable to our members, and also convince them that we need all the help we can get in order to carry on with the ever-increasing volume of work which descends upon us.

German Political Visitors. On 21st September an advance party of four German politicians arrived in London as the guests of the Hansard Society in order to study the place of Parliament in British life (see Hansard Society News, *Parliamentary Affairs*, Volume 1, No. 4, pages 3 to 8). The guests were: Dr. Rudolf Gerstung, who spent the period 1938-45 in three concentration camps including Dachau and who is now head of the Department of Social Welfare of the Social Democratic Party; Dr. Heinrich Steffensmeier, member of the Executive of the Centre Party and editor of the *Rhein-Ruhr Zeitung* of Essen; Herr Ernst H. Müller-Hermann, member of the Executive of the Christian Democratic Union and also a newspaper editor; and Fräulein Dr. W. N. Gröwel of the Christian Democratic Union.

During 11 days in London, the German visitors saw many of our democratic institutions at first hand. What impressed them most was not the formal and well-known aspects of our democracy, but its informal and unwritten rules, and some of their comments on what they saw and heard in London will be found in our correspondence columns on pages 85-87.

During their first day in London they had lunch with several Members of Parliament at the House of Commons,

met Mr. Speaker, heard Mr. Ernest Bevin and Mr. R. A. Butler take part in an important Foreign Affairs debate, and later had an informal meeting with Members of Parliament. The following day they visited the House of Lords, where, after meeting the Lord Chancellor, they heard Lords Addison, Salisbury and Samuel speak on the Parliament Bill.

Among the Government departments visited was the Home Office, where they had a meeting with the Home Secretary. They were also entertained to lunch by Lord Henderson, and to tea by Lord Pakenham.

They visited the headquarters of the three political parties, and such bodies as the B.B.C., the Central Office of Information, His Majesty's Stationery Office, *The Times*, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Political and Economic Planning, the Bureau of Current Affairs, and the British Society for International Understanding.

They saw something of the working of local government during visits to St. Pancras, where they met the Mayor and the Town Clerk; and to County Hall, where they met the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the London County Council, the Leader of the Council and the Leader of the Opposition, and the Clerk and Assistant Clerk of the Council.

There were several informal discussions opened by Members and others connected with Parliament on such subjects as "The M.P. and his Constituents" and "Parliament and the Public".

As we go to press a second group of about a dozen German political leaders have arrived as our guests. It is the desire of the Council of the Hansard Society that their visitors shall be accommodated in private homes in London. The requirements are "bed and breakfast", and a sum of money is available to reimburse hosts for the expense involved. We should be grateful if any person willing to assist with this side of our work would enquire at our offices for details.

Danish Parliamentary Visitors. On 20th October the Council of the Society gave a reception for the all-Party Danish Parliamentary Delegation which was visiting London

for discussions with the British Government. The Hansard Society took advantage of the presence in London of leading Danish parliamentarians to acquaint them with the aims and activities of the Hansard Society, and to enable them to meet representative British men and women who support the work of the Society. Members of the Danish Delegation were as follows:

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Gustav Rasmussen

Mr. Alsing Andersen, M.P. (Social Democrat)

Mr. Jørgen Jørgensen, M.P. (Radical)

Professor Thorkild Kristensen, M.P. (Liberal)

Mr. Bjørn Kraft, M.P. (Conservative)

H. E. the Danish Ambassador and several members of the Danish Embassy were also present.

Meetings and Lectures. During the past three months I have addressed a number of clubs and associations about our work, including an all-Party group of M.P.s in the House of Commons and the Glasgow Parliamentary Debating Association. Our Lecture Department has, within the limitation imposed by an over-worked staff and a crowded office, continued to help individual and corporate members of the Society who have wanted to secure speakers on Parliament.

Exchange of Students. The Council of your Society have long had in mind the desirability of exchanging students—particularly between the United Kingdom, Canada and U.S.A.—for the study of parliamentary institutions. In this connection an interesting proposal is being discussed with the University of Illinois, but at present it looks as if it will be held up for lack of finance.

Library and Information Department. Over 100 volumes have been added to our library during the past three months and we are grateful to those members who have either presented books or given donations to our library fund. Our library lacks the following volumes of the Parliamentary Debates:

<i>Commons</i>	<i>Period Covered</i>
5th Series, Volumes 1 to 64.	January, 1909, to July, 1914
68.	January to February, 1915
90 to 125.	January, 1917, to February, 1920
169 to 178.	January to December, 1924
228.	May to June, 1929
343 to 350.	December, 1938, to August, 1939

<i>Lords</i>	
5th Series, Volumes 1 to 74.	1909 to 1929
134 to 136.	October, 1944, to October, 1945.

We should be grateful if any members of the Society can help to supply the missing volumes.

The Information Department has continued to deal with a wide range of inquiries from members on all aspects of the institution of Parliament.

Press. Your Society owes a great debt of gratitude to the British Press. During the past three months no less than 250 column inches in the Press have been devoted to various aspects of our work. I apologize for the use of this technical jargon, but what it means can be best appreciated by a layman if I explain that this would have filled almost two pages of *The Times*. At a time when space is so precious in the Press, the Council of the Society hope that their thanks will reach the appropriate quarters in Fleet Street.

Hansard House. Members should turn to the report of our Annual Meeting on pages 33-44 for the latest details about this project. Here I will only say that the fund is still open and we should be grateful if any benefactor feels disposed to emulate the generosity of Mr. Guggenheim; less ambitious efforts are, of course, equally acceptable!

Publications. After the usual delays now inevitable in the book publishing business we have at last secured the delivery of copies of the third edition of our classic and ever-popular publication *Our Parliament* by Strathearn Gordon. We have already disposed of 23,000 copies of this book, and

it has been translated into German, French and Spanish. Members ordering this book are entitled to a discount of $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. which brings the price to 5s. 8d. post free, when ordered from our offices. It is the perfect Christmas present in the category of something useful, entertaining and of permanent value. All our pamphlets are now out of print except *The Independent Member of Parliament* by Harold Nicolson, of which we still have a few copies, price one shilling.

Membership. The membership figures this year were as follows: 1st February, 1,611; 1st May, 2,029; 1st August, 2,057; 1st November, 2,130. Some idea of the range of our growing membership is conveyed by the following names selected from those who have joined during the past three months:

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 General Refractories Ltd.
 Holloway Bros. (London) Ltd.
 News Chronicle Ltd.
 Northampton Caravans Ltd.
 Pritchard, Wood and Partners Ltd.
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 Federal Union
 Women for Westminster
 Librarian, House of Lords
 Rev. Gordon Lang, M.P.
 Guy Eden, Honorary Secretary, Parliamentary Lobby Journalists
 Labour Party, Transport House
 Fleet St. Parliament
 Glasgow Parliamentary Debating Association
 Royal Air Force Association Publishing Co.
 Library, University College of Wales
 Burderop Park Training College
 Claysmore School
 Godolphin and Latymer School
 Harrow County Girls' School
 Municipal Training College, Kingston-on-Hull
 Orange Hill Boys' School
 Penzance Boys' County Grammar School
 Schofield Technical College
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 Toronto
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 Sao Paulo Alparagatas, Brazil
 The Deputy Premier, Government of India
 The Minister for Industry and Supply, Government of India
 H.E. The Governor of Bihar, India
 The Premier of Orissa, India
 The Premier of Bombay, India,
 The Premier of the United Provinces, India
 The Premier of the Eastern Punjab, India
 The Legislative Assembly of the Central Provinces, India
 The Legislative Assembly of Cochin, India
 Secretary to the Government, Eastern Punjab, India
 The Minister for Law and Labour, Pakistan
 The Secretary, Constituent Assembly of Pakistan
 The Minister of Justice, Ceylon
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 Cape Parliamentary Debating Society
 Mr. A. E. Lamb, Contractor for Reporting Parliamentary Debates,
 S. Rhodesia

Looking down the list of addresses of those who have taken out subscriptions to *Parliamentary Affairs*, I have picked out the following places:

Illinois, Canberra, Athens, Massachusetts, Hawaii, Detroit,

Berlin, California, Wisconsin, New Zealand, Nebraska, Salonika, Washington, New York, Belfast, Utrecht, Copenhagen, Philadelphia, Chicago, Texas, North Carolina, Bangkok, Rome, Warsaw, Los Angeles, Virginia, New Delhi, Rio de Janeiro, Georgia, Montevideo, Utah.

Overseas Societies. The Council of the Hansard Society of Canada (Société Hansard du Canada), to whom I am Honorary Adviser, have invited me to visit Canada in February, 1949, in order to be present at their first annual meeting and then do a tour of Toronto, Montreal and Ottawa on behalf of the Canadian Society.

We have heard news that arrangements for the first Youth Conference organized by our sister Society in Canada are going forward. We cannot always hope to report good news to you in these pages, and therefore I must inform you that progress with the establishment of the movement in France and Italy has not been satisfactory. After several visits to these countries there is not the slightest doubt in my mind that adequate committees could be established if we had the resources to send someone to help our friends organize themselves. At the moment this is impossible.

It is also true that from the Dominions—other than Canada—evidence reaches us that the time is ripe for establishing sister societies but we lack the resources needed for the missionary work.

The attention of all those who read this journal and are *not* members of the Hansard Society and who *do* believe that the institution of Parliament is an indispensable part of the democratic way of life is drawn to the fact that there is no nationality qualification as regards membership of this Society. All who believe in the importance of working for the cause of strengthening the institution of Parliament are urged to join our ranks. This applies especially to citizens of the U.S.A.

Covenanted Subscriptions. An important note about this appears on page 98.

THE PRIVY COUNCIL TODAY

by the Rt. Hon. HERBERT MORRISON, M.P.

Lord President of the Council

MOST of those who have written about the Privy Council seem to have been more interested in the past than in the present. They tell us a great deal about its history; but they seldom describe its existing duties in much detail or say precisely how those duties are carried out. Something more about the Council in recent times can be pieced together from books not directly bearing on the subject—such as biographies and memoirs—but it is not at all easy for the ordinary reader who cannot consult a large library to discover what the Privy Council is and does to-day and how it sets about its work.

Although we are concerned here with things as they are the historical background must be borne in mind if the place the Council now occupies in the Constitution is to be understood. It must be remembered that nearly all the branches of administration with which we are familiar—Parliament, the Cabinet and the Privy Council among them—had their beginnings in the *curia regis*, the Court or Council of The King of Norman times. On important occasions, it met as the Great Council, the successor of the still earlier Saxon witangemote, but the mainspring that kept the business of the Government going was a smaller body within its framework which helped to make the laws, dispensed justice and collected the revenue. The members of this were chosen by The King, and while its activities were much more limited after Parliament appeared and the Exchequer and Law Courts branched off into independence, it remained closely associated with the Sovereign, merging by almost imperceptible stages into what became known as the Privy Council, through which many of the royal functions continued to be exercised. After a time there was a further development. A few of the more influential Coun-

sellors, who formed an inner ring especially in The King's confidence, began to supersede the Council as a whole when major questions had to be settled. Theirs was the decisive voice, and at the most the Council endorsed their conclusions. Before long, and as a result of this development, a new body destined to be of great constitutional importance was to emerge. This was the Cabinet. At first its position was rather indefinite, and like other innovations it was looked on with suspicion; but the early years of the eighteenth century saw it so well established that it was separated from the Council. By then an essential difference between the modern Cabinet and the Privy Council had already appeared: the Cabinet was confined to members of the party predominant in Parliament and directed policy, while the Council, whose composition was not restricted in that way, was mainly occupied with the more formal duties that settled usage requires it to perform to this day. The Privy Council, therefore, can trace its lineage right back to the feudal world and is a continuation of the "fertile parent stem" from which the complex executive machinery of to-day is derived. There is, indeed, still one momentous occasion on which the distant past and the present meet. At the beginning of a new reign, when the Privy Council, with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London and others, meet to acknowledge and proclaim a new Sovereign, their action is a direct link with the gatherings of the witangemote at such a time many hundreds of years ago.

During its long existence, the Privy Council has varied greatly in size. There are now about three hundred members—of whom some forty come from the Dominions—and its ranks include representatives of very varied walks in life who have merited special recognition by the Sovereign. Membership, indeed, is a high distinction which is sparingly conferred, although for constitutional reasons those who hold certain important posts under the Crown—among whom are the members of the Cabinet—are admitted on appointment. New Privy Counsellors kiss The King's hand and take the Oath of Allegiance as well as the Privy Counsellor's Oath,

which among other things binds them to keep secret "all matters committed or revealed" to them, and still contains phrases that appeared in it in much the same form five hundred years ago. There is only one exception to the rule that Privy Counsellors must take these oaths when they first attend a Council. If the Sovereign so directs, a member of the Royal Family may be introduced into the Council without being sworn. As long ago as 1410, the Prince of Wales, afterwards Henry V, was introduced in that way, and the records explain that no oath was administered "because of the highness and excellence of his honourable person".

When The King holds a Council, those whose presence is required receive a summons in the traditional form, which runs: "Let the messenger acquaint the Lords and Others of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council that a Council is appointed to be held"—at such and such a place and time. Usually four Privy Counsellors are summoned, although the quorum is three, but on special occasions the attendance is larger, as it was last year when twelve Counsellors heard the Royal Assent given to Princess Elizabeth's marriage. Nowadays the whole Council very seldom meets; in fact it has not done so except at an Accession since 1839, when Queen Victoria's impending marriage was declared in Council. The place of meeting is generally Buckingham Palace, but Councils are held wherever His Majesty is in residence. Once or twice within fairly recent years they have been summoned to meet in private houses.

What happens at a Council depends on the business to be done, but as a rule the proceedings follow a straightforward course. First of all, before the Council begins, the Lord President is received in Audience. The other Counsellors then enter and, having bowed and shaken hands with The King, take up their position. They stand in a line, headed by the Lord President, who has a List of Business, as the agenda is called. The items in this are already known to His Majesty, who as they are read out by the Lord President, approves them or gives any other directions that may be needed. When the business is finished, the proceedings

become rather less formal. There is some general conversation: then the Counsellors withdraw, leaving as they entered in accordance with their precedence.

The Privy Council has duties of its own, but its chief function is to act as the body "by and with" whose advice certain things are done by the Sovereign. As constitutionally The King acts on the advice of Ministers, the decisions taken in Council necessarily reflect the views and policy of the Government. It is for this reason that Privy Counsellors who are members of the Opposition are unlikely to be summoned, unless the matters to be dealt with are exceptional and free from political controversy. Most of the business in Council is expressed in Proclamations or Orders in Council. Proclamations are usually reserved for the more important subjects, and after being approved in Council are signed by The King and pass under the Great Seal. Orders in Council, which bear the Privy Council Seal, are authenticated by the signature of the Clerk of the Council. As a rule, Orders in Council are complete in themselves, but sometimes they set in motion a series of executive acts. That happens when a Royal Charter is granted. Then, the Order in Council approving the grant is the authority for a Secretary of State to submit for the Sign Manual a Warrant, which in turn gives directions for the Charter to be issued as Letters Patent under the Great Seal.

The proceedings in Council are not confined to the approval of documents. There may be an oral Declaration by The King or Ministers may receive their Seals of Office. If a new Great Seal is brought into use, His Majesty defaces or "damasks" the old Seal with an oddly shaped little hammer; and once a year when the High Sheriffs of the Counties are appointed, the names of those chosen are pricked by The King with a bodkin as the long parchment Roll of Sheriffs is unwound. There is a tradition that this custom began one day when the Roll was submitted to Queen Elizabeth while she sat working in a garden. As there was no pen available, the Queen is said to have used her bodkin to show who were to serve. How much truth there may be in this pleasing

legend, it is impossible to say; but it must be admitted that such facts as are known do not seem to support it any too well.

A great many of the powers exercised by The King in Council are statutory—that is to say, they are derived from Acts of Parliament; others are prerogative, which means that they were not created by Parliament, but are included in the residue of the very wide powers that once vested in the Sovereign as of right. It is under the Prerogative that the prorogation or dissolution of Parliament is ordered, Ministers receive their Seals, the Sheriffs are pricked and Royal Charters granted. The Prerogative again is concerned in matters affecting the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man and—sometimes but not always—when new arrangements are made for the administration of overseas territories. The statutory powers are so numerous that it would be difficult even to summarize them. Parliament cannot go into all the detailed questions that will have to be settled when the legislation it passes comes into force; so provision is often made for points that are left outstanding to be dealt with by Orders in Council, which may or may not be subject to parliamentary approval or challenge. Such Orders are made under a great many Acts and may operate through almost the entire field of Statute law. One thing, indeed, that must impress those who attend Councils at all often, is the astonishingly wide range of the items that appear in the Lists of Business. Questions, large and small, affecting not only the United Kingdom but also distant parts of the Commonwealth and foreign countries throughout the world come before His Majesty in Council in almost endless variety.

The Privy Council itself, as distinct from The King in Council, not only long since lost the wide powers it once owned, but also in more recent times and with the creation of new Departments has seen some of its remaining duties transferred elsewhere. Fifty years ago, what is now the Ministry of Education was still a Committee of Council—as the Board of Trade is to-day—in theory but not in practice—and it was not until just before the war that the Committee on Education in Scotland was abolished. A few years before

that the Council ceased to administer the law of poisons, and other work it used to do is now undertaken by the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries and the Ministry of Health. But while this devolution was going on, Parliament occasionally reversed the process by giving the Council new functions. That happened, for instance, when the Privy Council was put in charge of the Cinematograph Fund set up under the Sunday Entertainments Act in 1931, and when in the same year architects were added to those in the medical and other professions in whose affairs the Council has an interest. To-day it has a very mixed collection of duties which may be of great antiquity or date only from yesterday.

The Lord President, who is one of the Great Officers of State, usually has heavy responsibilities in other directions as a member of the Government. As President of the Council he has certain powers; but, generally speaking, things that have to be done by the Privy Council are done to-day as they were in the past by Committees. Some of these are standing Committees—such as the Judicial Committee and the Committees which direct research in scientific, industrial, medical and agricultural matters. Other Committees are appointed to advise on questions referred to them by The King in Council: more often they are less formally constituted bodies which lapse when they have dealt with a particular item in the routine business arising from day to day. If the Committees have to report to The King in Council, their recommendations must be approved by Order in Council, but in less important matters the decisions may rest with the Committees themselves. They are then embodied in what are known as *Orders of Council*.

One or two of the standing Committees are seldom active. The others—apart from the Judicial Committee and those connected with research—deal with questions affecting the Channel Islands, the Isle of Man and the Scottish Universities and with certain recommendations for Honours. The short-lived Committees have many duties: among other things they consider petitions for the grant of Royal Charters or the creation of new boroughs; they have statutory obliga-

tions in relation to medical practitioners, veterinary surgeons, pharmacists and architects, and their approval is usually required when new by-laws are made by chartered institutions. Almost in a class by themselves, and set up soon after the beginning of a new reign, are two Committees of much historical interest, the Coronation Committee and the Court of Claims. The first, which prepares the detailed plans for the Coronation, now co-operates with a Coronation Commission, containing Dominion representatives and independent of the Privy Council. The Court of Claims, which dates back to the Accession of Richard II, has to decide who are entitled to perform traditional services during the ceremony. The cases adjudicated upon affect such claimants as The King's Champion and the Lord High Constable of Scotland, and those who seek to establish a right to carry the Great Spurs or the Staff of St. Edward or even to record the proceedings and "have five yards of scarlet cloth". Another Committee with a long pedigree is the one that has to review the Roll of Sheriffs each year before it is pricked. Until about twenty years ago the Lord President gave a dinner to the members of the Cabinet, who for that one occasion acted as a Committee of Council for the purpose. It was at such a dinner in 1820, when Lord Harrowby was Lord President, that the entire Ministry was to have been assassinated if the Cato Street Conspiracy had not become known to the Government in time.

It must not be imagined that Committees of Council are in almost constant session. Very often the questions involved can be settled by circulating papers; but one Committee that invariably sits is the Judicial Committee, the highest Court of Appeal in the Commonwealth. It was established in 1833, and scarcely ever adjudicates on appeals from the United Kingdom except in ecclesiastical cases. The appeals that reach the Committee come from many parts of the Empire, their number sometimes making it necessary for the Committee to sit in two or even three Divisions. The membership is fairly large, but the tribunals are usually drawn from a panel consisting of the Lord

Chancellor, the Lords of Appeal and a number of distinguished Judges who hold or formerly held office here or overseas. The Committee meets in Downing Street, and the hearings, which are occupied mainly by arguments on difficult points of law, may raise extremely important issues. Counsel appear in their wigs and gowns, but the members of the Committee do not wear robes; and there is a striking contrast between the prestige and authority of the Committee and the way in which the proceedings are conducted, which reminded one overseas observer of a dignified but friendly discussion in the library of a large country house.

With the Judicial Committee this outline of a large subject must come to an end. The gradual re-definition of the Council's sphere during the passing centuries and the fact that it is still an essential feature in the Constitution show how our institutions can be adapted to new conditions and keep their value in spite of far-reaching changes. In one way or another we are all affected by the questions with which the Council is concerned: yet to the majority it is scarcely more than a name. That this should be so is not surprising. On many matters the Privy Council must preserve silence, and more often than not the only publicity it receives is when from time to time the familiar words "The King held a Council to-day" appear in the Court Circular.

THE PRIVY COUNCIL

"Today the Privy Council retains only the shadow of its former greatness. Yet, with the aroma about it of its former greatness, it is a very honourable body. Membership is regarded as a high distinction. . . . I think that if one of the 'Lords and others' of the Privy Council, who had served in it during the centuries of its greatness, were to revisit these scenes today, he would be astonished to find how wide its range had grown, and how narrowly its power had shrunk. Yet, for the functions it still performs, it remains indispensable. Its mighty offspring, the Cabinet, is the centre of political power. Its Law Court, the Judicial Committee, is one of the most august tribunals in the world. And it may well be that, in the future, recourse may again be made, for the performance of some new and necessary function, to that ancient element in the British Constitution—His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council."—The Rt. Hon. the Viscount SAMUEL, G.C.B., G.B.E., D.C.L., in a broadcast talk in April, 1945.

WOMEN IN LEGISLATURES

by MEGAN LLOYD GEORGE, M.P.

(*Lady Megan Lloyd George has represented Anglesey in the House of Commons for the past 20 years.*)

IT was Victor Hugo who said: "The eighteenth century proclaimed the rights of men; the nineteenth century shall proclaim the rights of women."

Since the beginning of recorded time, women have exerted an indirect influence on public affairs, but it was only in the nineteenth century that the principle "that rights cannot be refused where duties are demanded" was extended to women. Gradually, grudgingly, concession after concession was gained in the struggle for political emancipation. As a first step in this country women were brought in to perform the menial tasks in the constituencies. The Primrose League was formed¹ and the Women's Liberal Federation was brought into being,² in the words of Mrs. Gladstone, "to help our husbands". The Corrupt Practices Act³ which provided that canvassers should no longer be paid was passed. Canvassing still had to be done, why not employ women? It was unpaid and unpleasant, so it was just the thing for them. That was the beginning of the training of women in public questions. From that day they became an important part of the political machine, taking an ever-increasing share in the work of organization and propaganda.

Forty-one years ago Finland, the pioneer in political equality between the sexes, granted the franchise to women.⁴ It was not until 1919 that an American-born British subject, Lady Astor, took her seat in the House of Commons.⁵

¹ 17th November, 1883.

² 27th May, 1886.

³ 46 & 47 Vict. 1883 c. 51. An Act for the better prevention of Corrupt and Illegal Practices at Parliamentary Elections.

⁴ In 1907, 19 women elected in a House of 200 Members.

⁵ Miss Agnes McPhail, 1921-40.

⁶ Viscountess Astor returned November, 1919, for the Sutton Division of Plymouth.

Two years later Canada elected a woman to Parliament,¹ the first British Dominion to do so. In the United Kingdom the portals of the House of Lords, however, remained, and remain to this day, firmly bolted and barred against "the monstrous regiment of women". But in the recent all-Party Conference on House of Lords Reform,² the inclusion of women in a new Second Chamber was agreed to by the leaders of all three political parties.

It has been said that since their emancipation only a comparatively small number of women have entered into their full rights, or taken advantage of their opportunities, and that the great majority stand on the threshold, hesitant and timid, afraid to enter into their new heritage. How far is this estimate justified? There are women deputies in all European and Commonwealth Parliaments as well as in the Latin-American Republics and the United States Congress. In Russia there are 277 women in the Supreme Soviet, 116 in the Soviet of the Union, and 161 in the Soviet of the Nationalities. But the most revolutionary change of all is to be found in countries of the Middle and Far East, in Malta and Turkey, in China where 93 of the 1,600 sitting members of the National Assembly are women, and in India and Pakistan. Women became eligible for election to the Indian Legislative Assembly in 1937 and to the Provincial Legislatures as early as 1924. So important was the representation of women considered that the Government of India Act 1935³ reserved 42 seats for them in the Provincial Assemblies. In sharp contrast has been the history of political emancipation in Germany. Ever since the end of the first world war 6 per cent. to 10 per cent. of the deputies have been women, the last freely elected Reichstag returning 30 women. Under the Hitler régime, women were relegated to the home, their horizon bound on every side by domestic duties. Women's organizations existed, but their activities were strictly

¹ Miss Agnes McPhail, 1921-40.

² Cmd. 7380. Parliament Bill, 1947. Agreed statement on conclusion of Conference of Party Leaders, February-April, 1948. Para 5 (5).

³ 25 & 26. Geo. 5. c. 42.

confined to the study of domestic science, and the running of "mother schools". The German woman was to remain a *Hausfrau*. Louise Schroeder retired from politics and worked in a bakery in Hamburg, and all those who were prominent in social and political work went into seclusion. Today they are again emerging into public life and taking an important part in the work of reconstruction in their country. There are now 1,886 deputies in the German *Länder*; of these 219 are women, 52 of whom are in the British Zone.

What progress has been made in the pioneer countries? In Finland there are the same number of women Members today as there were 40 years ago. Since the election of the first woman in 1916 in the United States,¹ over 41 different women have served in the Senate and House of Representatives. For the past few years the proportion in Britain has remained substantially the same. Today there are 21 members. In the last General Election out of a total of 87 women candidates nominated, 24 only were elected. Undoubtedly the prejudice against women in public life persists here as elsewhere. It can be seen in the reluctance of all political parties to nominate women as candidates or to give them reasonably safe seats. It is for this reason that many women of outstanding abilities and qualifications have never had an opportunity of entering Parliament. In addition many of the younger married women are tied to domestic duties and the choice between marriage and a career has become a real one. It has become increasingly difficult to combine the two functions. The housewives hardly have time to keep themselves informed on public affairs, much less to take an active part in political life. The fact that so many women are virtually excluded by their home ties is a national loss at a time when the best brains are needed to rebuild the economic and social structure of our country, and a well-informed public opinion is so necessary to the efficient working of democracy.

What has been the contribution of women to legislation and the work of Parliament? It was to be expected that in

¹ Miss Jeanette Rankin, Montana.

the early days of their political emancipation women should seek to right some of the wrongs, remove the handicaps, and iron out the inequalities from which their sex had suffered so long. In the early years of emancipation in Finland 26 Bills were introduced, most of which concerned the position of women in the State. They included laws concerning the legal right of married women to hold Government positions, the raising of the marriageable age of girls, and the granting of the communal franchise. These measures could not be set down as merely "feminist" legislation. They carried a wider social significance. Time after time they were rejected and were reintroduced in succeeding sessions. Some of these reforms have now been achieved after 10 and 20 years of patient endeavour. The trend has been the same in Britain. In the early days the handful of women in the House of Commons were concerned mainly in what have been called "women's questions". Bills were passed to prevent the sale of intoxicating liquors to persons under 18, introduced by that most spirited tectotaler, Lady Astor; to prevent the passing of the death sentence on expectant mothers; to safeguard the interests of the adopted child and the rights of children under the Inheritance Law. During the war women Members concerned themselves as a united body in all questions relating to the most effective use of woman power, and as a result of their efforts a representative from each Party was put upon a Consultative Committee of the Ministry of Labour to advise the Minister on the mobilization of woman power, and the welfare of women in the factories and the Services. Women M.P.s of all Parties united on deputations to successive Governments on such matters as the opening of the Foreign Service to women and on the part women should play in the work of reconstruction. In this united front women have shown a creditable independence of judgment and have not feared to criticize their own Parties. Mrs. Tate, a Conservative, led a revolt against a predominantly Conservative Government on the question of the granting of equal compensation to men and women injured in air raids, and won a well-deserved victory. Mrs.

Cazalet Keir, also a Conservative, actually defeated, if only by one vote, the Churchill Coalition Government at a critical moment in the war, on an Amendment to the Education Act,¹ which provided for equal pay for men and women teachers.

In the second phase of their political development the interest of women centred mainly in social and moral questions, public health, nursing, education. But in this and in other countries, as their experience of public life grows, they are turning their attention to wider national problems. In the U.S.A. the dean of women legislators—Mary T. Norton—as Chairman of the Labour Committee, championed the Wages and Hours Bill² which brought a large measure of financial security to millions of workers in America. In South Africa Mrs. Ballinger was chosen by the natives to represent their interests. Women here and in America have also shown a growing concern in the conditions of refugees, in the dispossessed peoples, and in the destitute countries of Europe. Eleanor Rathbone became, in the days of the Nazi persecutions in Europe and during the war, a courageous and tireless champion in the House of Commons of the oppressed and hunted races of the world.

Foreign policy has claimed the interest of women to an ever increasing degree. In the United States several women are members of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives and most of them take an active part in Foreign Affairs Debates. President Truman appointed Mrs. Norton as Government representative and observer to the International Labour Conference in Paris in 1945, and it became the custom to send a woman as substitute delegate to the Assembly of the old League of Nations, and today to the United Nations. All this is a reflection of the intense interest felt by women in all countries in the work of peace, although their views may differ widely. They range from those of Jeanette Rankin, the first Congress woman who

¹ Vol. 398, *House of Commons Hansard*, 23th March, 1941, cols. 1,355-1,392.

² Passed into law as the Fair Labour Standards Act, 1938: U.S. *Statutes at Large*, Vol. 52, Ch. 676.

voted against war in 1917, and again when Congress declared America at war with Japan, to those of Senator Hattie W. Caraway, who as "an advocate for peace" always voted for a large army, navy and air force and for lend-lease.

The capacity and competence of women in public life has been recognized by the high offices to which they have been appointed in many countries. In our own country, Margaret Bondfield was appointed Minister of Labour in the difficult and critical years of 1929-31, while Miss Perkins was given the same tough assignment in the United States Government in the great slump. In Sweden, Dr. Karim Kock, an economic expert, is Minister without Portfolio. Mrs. Aasland, in Norway, holds the same office, although she deals with social affairs. Ellen Wilkinson, the second woman to achieve Cabinet rank in Britain, was, before her untimely death in 1947, Minister of Education. She had the task of bringing into operation the Education Act of 1944, and was particularly successful in creating the Emergency Training Colleges for Teachers on which the success of the scheme must depend. In Denmark a woman presided over the same Ministry in the first Socialist Government in the '20's.¹ Rajkumari Amrit Kaur did remarkable work in India for the refugees in conditions of appalling difficulty. There have been women Ministers of Health in New Zealand,² in the Central Cabinet in India,³ and for a characteristically meteoric period in France. Mme. Hertta Leino-Kuusinen, member of a well-known political family in Finland, has the distinction of being the only leader of a political Party.⁴ History has been made also by Mme. Germaine Peyroles, who is now Vice-président de l'Assemblée Nationale, and by Mrs. Florence Paton, Labour Member for Rushcliffe, who, as temporary chairman of committees, took the Chair when the House of Commons was in Committee of Supply on the Scottish Estimates on the 31st May, 1948. And in Roumania we have the greatest innovation of all, a woman Foreign Secretary, Anna Pauker, who is the daughter of a Moldavian

¹ Mrs. Nina Bang, Minister of Public Instruction, 1925-6.

² Hon. Mabel B. Howard, 1947-. ³ Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, 1948-.

⁴ People's Democratic League.

Jewish butcher. She has spent fifteen years underground or in exile, six years in prison, part of that time in solitary confinement, and she has twice been condemned to death. Mme. Pauker started her régime with a purge of the Foreign Office, and it is said that she directs the Foreign Policy of Roumania with a firm hand even if the voice comes from Moscow. She is certainly a remarkable woman, described by W. H. Lawrence as "a woman of great intellectual capabilities with a steel trap mind". Germany, too, has produced a woman of outstanding personality, the Acting Mayor of Berlin, Louise Schroeder, wise and forceful, who steered a perilous course with skill and dexterity until she was forced recently by ill health to play a less active part in public affairs.

What is the conclusion to be drawn from this brief record of Women in Legislatures? It is, I think, that in a comparatively short period of time remarkable progress has been made. It is true that they have not yet produced a figure of world renown, a Cromwell, a Pitt, or an Elizabeth, but then the ration even of great men in every century is restricted. But their quality and the contribution they have hitherto made has, however, been recognized in the increased responsibilities that have been placed upon them in every country, proof that they are coming ever more into their own as equals and partners in the work of Government.

WOMEN AND THE STATE

"Can it be pretended that women who manage an estate or conduct a business—who pay rates and taxes, often to a large amount, and frequently from their own earnings—many of whom are responsible heads of families, and some of whom, in the capacity of schoolmistresses, teach much more than a great number of male electors have ever learnt—are not capable of a function of which every male householder is capable? Or is it feared that if they were admitted to the suffrage they would revolutionize the State—would deprive us of our valued institutions, or we would have worse laws, or be in any way whatever worse governed through the effect of their suffrage?" John Stuart Mill (1806-73) speaking in the House of Commons, 20th May, 1867, on an amendment to leave out the word "man" in the Representation of the People Bill, and insert instead the word "person". The amendment was lost. See *Hansard*, Third Series, Volume 187.

LOBBY CORRESPONDENTS

by GUY EDEN*

(Mr. Eden is Political and Diplomatic Correspondent, Daily Express; Past-Chairman and present Honorary Secretary, Parliamentary Lobby Journalists; Past-Chairman, Parliamentary Press Gallery.)

SINCE I addressed the Hansard Society's Youth Conference last March on the work of the Parliamentary Lobby Journalists, there have been many requests for a more detailed account of the activities of "Parliament's Intelligence Service". The description—not inapt—was recently applied to the Parliamentary Lobby Journalists by a very high official of the House of Commons, who had been able to study at close quarters, over a long period of years, the work done by these specialist representatives of the Press.

Nobody, I imagine, would contradict the statement that our Parliamentary system—which, we are proud to think, is a model to the rest of the world—could not be made to work, but for the Press. Many an elaborate speech has been made, in both Houses of Parliament, to an audience of Members which could fit itself comfortably into a small drawing-room—or even a telephone kiosk!

But—the Press Gallery, as ever, was well-tenanted, and that meant that the country and the world knew all about the speech in due course.

From time to time, some Parliamentarian, jealous of the influence of the Press, raises complaints about its work, but on the whole, the experienced members of both Houses readily agree that the association of the Press with Parliament is essential and beneficial.

Yet it is a curious fact that it is still, technically, an offence against Parliamentary privilege to report the proceedings in

* Mr. Eden has donated his fee for writing this article to the Hansard Society.

the Commons or the Lords. It is—to put it mildly—open to doubt whether Parliament would ever “go underground” for any prolonged period. But there is an occasional sharp reminder to the Press that its representatives are there “on sufferance”, and that they are still “strangers”, even if highly-privileged ones.

For instance, when the Houses decide to go into “secret session”—as they often did during the war—it is a criminal offence, carrying a sentence of penal servitude, for any newspaper or other publication to publish any account, accurate or inaccurate, of the proceedings.

I should at once stress, however, that there is no other form of censorship on the Press in reporting the proceedings of Parliament. Even in the crises of the war, everything said in Parliament, in public session, was exempt from censorship. It was assumed that the Minister or private M.P. making a statement was doing so with a due sense of responsibility. Perhaps a slightly rash assumption, on occasions!

And, I think I am justified in saying, the authorities of Parliament take the view that the specially-selected Press representatives who attend Parliament have, themselves, a high sense of responsibility, as well as a high sense of news-values.

This must, in the nature of things, apply even more to the Lobby Journalists (or Political Correspondents, as most of us prefer to be called) than to the sketch-writers, or the verbatim and other reporters. I mean that those concerned solely with the proceedings on the Floor of the House—the sketch-writers and the reporters—have to show their sense of responsibility by being extremely accurate in their reporting (as they certainly are) while the Lobby Correspondents, because of the nature of their work and their special personal relationships with Ministers, private Members and officials, have also to know when *not* to write, as well as what and when and how *to* write.

Let me try to make clear the difference between the duties of a Political Correspondent and those of a Press Gallery man. It is a difference which many experienced M.P.s fail, even now, to appreciate.

The Parliamentary sketch-writers and reporters are concerned exclusively with what happens on the Floor of the House, with what is said and done on any given day, and the business transacted in public.

The Political Correspondents are concerned with recording and explaining what is *going* to happen at future sittings, with explaining and expanding the news of what *is* happening, and, perhaps most important of all, in analysing and "translating" into ordinary language the Bills, White Papers and many other official documents that flow in an endless stream through Parliament and Whitehall. The Political Correspondents have numerous other exacting duties, as I shall explain later, but it is important that the broad distinction between the two branches of the Parliamentary Press should be borne in mind.

I will explain the work of the sketch-writer. His task is to clothe with vividness and witty shrewdness the bare words of the debates, to make them easier to read, and to give the reader some of the "atmosphere" of the discussions. This can be as important as a straight account of the words used. Indeed, I say quite frankly, that a perfectly straight, uncoloured, account of the proceedings of Parliament would not convey a true picture, and could be positively misleading.

Many years ago, I saw an excitable M.P. lift the Mace from the Table of the House of Commons, and walk off with it. *Hansard* (which, of course, gives no descriptive matter) merely said, in square brackets: "*The Honourable Member proceeded to the Table and removed the Mace, which was restored by the Serjeant at Arms.*" But every newspaper, from the dignified *Times* to the most sensational, reported the (in its way) historic event at great length, and with a wealth of colourful description.

There have been many similar events, where an account of *actions* was more important than an account of the *words* used. It is the job of the sketch-writer to give this word-picture, either as a completely separate account, or (as is far more general nowadays) a combined report of the proceedings and "sketch". These vary from the whimsical

efforts of *Punch*, where the lighter side is stressed, to the more solid articles of *The Times* and the *Manchester Guardian*, to take notable examples.

The work of the reporters ranges from the completely verbatim accounts of the *Hansard* staff to the abbreviated third person reports of the popular newspapers. Of course, a great deal of skill is necessary in the selection of passages from long speeches, in order to give a clear and balanced account of the entire proceedings.

It is—most will agree—neither desirable nor necessary to give a verbatim account of Parliament's proceedings for the ordinary newspaper reader. Those who want to know *everything* that is said can always turn to *Hansard*.

The Political Correspondents are all members of the Press Gallery, and most of them have their own reserved seats in the Gallery. This is essential to ensure that they are up-to-the-moment in their knowledge of the day's proceedings, as it is necessary for them to know, and understand, everything that is going on in the political world, so that they can explain it to their readers.

Suppose, for instance, there is a vote in the House, in which, for some reason, there is "cross-voting"—Members of the various Parties voting in different lobbies. What every newspaper reader wants to know is: "*Why?*"

The men in the Gallery cannot tell, and it is for the Political Correspondents, with their special facilities and contacts, to find out and give the information to newspaper readers. The Political Correspondents can use their right to go down into the Members' Lobby—from which the public are excluded—and talk to Ministers, M.P.s and Party officials, building up an account of the "behind-the-scenes" events which led to the cross-voting "revolt".

The lists of names of Members who voted this way or that in some specially important division are also compiled by the Political Correspondents—and a very difficult job it is, for it has to be done at high speed late at night, largely from watching the M.P.s troop into the voting lobbies.

But the actual proceedings of the two Houses form only

a very small part of the work of the Political Correspondents. Perhaps the major part consists of condensing, and explaining, Government Bills, White Papers, reports and official documents of all kinds. Quite apart from the fact that most of these are far too long to print in full in the papers, they are also—of necessity—usually rather too technical in their phrasing to be understood easily by the ordinary reader.

It is, therefore, the task of the Political Correspondent to read through all these documents and to understand and digest them so that a shortened and simplified account may be given to the public. In making the facts clear to newspaper readers, the Political Correspondents can seek the help of the Government Department experts, or the Ministers themselves. It is generally recognized that the Political Correspondents play an important part in ensuring that the people of the country know what is going on and what is expected of them.

The Political Correspondents contrive to take a critical or approving line on Government policy—when this is called for—while making their accounts of official documents strictly objective. In other words, they are careful not to distort the effect of the documents, but add their comments, favourable or otherwise, for the guidance and instruction of the reader.

The explanation of the general political and economic situation is another duty of the Political Correspondent. Here, again, the special facilities—contact with Members and officials and access to official documents—make it possible to give accurate accounts of “inside” events. The well-informed Political Correspondent is always “on duty”—some of them work incredible hours—and is soaked in politics. He knows as much about public and Parliamentary affairs and procedure as the best-informed M.P. And he has the advantage that he is personally known by, friendly with, and trusted by, members of all Parties, for Political Correspondents pride themselves on their freedom from Party political prejudice and their ability to “see all sides” fairly and impartially.

This ability to look at a political problem impartially is

important—even though the finished article may be anything but impartial, as is sometimes necessarily the case. It is important to be able to look at a problem impartially because so much of the work of assessing a political situation is logical deduction, backed by a wide general knowledge.

The Sherlock Holmes-like fitting together of a series of apparently-unconnected facts is an everyday task for the Political Correspondent. Ministers and officials have often been astonished at the shrewdness and accuracy of deductions made by experienced political writers from a few odd and obscure facts.

The leading Political Correspondents are also "Ambassadors" between their offices and what are called "official and political circles". Any matter calling for specially careful and tactful handling is apt to be handed over to the "Political man" to deal with, and the excellent personal relationship between these political journalists—some of whom are world-famous and quoted in the Press of many lands—and Ministers and officials has smoothed out many a difficult situation.

Their reputation for discretion and tact also leads to the Government's selection of the Political Correspondents to handle specially delicate news and situations.

The abdication of King Edward VIII, for instance, was handled, from beginning to end, by the members of the Parliamentary Lobby. It was necessary to prepare the public for grave news, without causing alarm, and the Cabinet privately paid warm tribute to the skill with which the Lobby Correspondents carried out the most delicate and exacting task they have had to face in the sixty-three years they have been active in public affairs.

In the war, the most difficult and worrying situations were dealt with by the Political Correspondents, and they were entrusted with—and kept strictly—many of the deepest secrets of the military and political campaigns.

I was Honorary Secretary of the Lobby Journalists throughout the war, and one of my jobs was to keep liaison between them and the Government. I was the only person

outside a strictly-limited Cabinet and Service circle who knew in advance of Mr. Winston Churchill's perilous and adventurous journey to meet President Roosevelt for the "Atlantic Conference", in 1941.

For many days, I had to keep the secret even from my closest colleagues, who had to ring me several times every day to "keep in touch"—about what, they knew not. One Sunday, I had nearly 150 'phone calls, and I was not sorry when I was free to give the news! I suppose I had Mr. Churchill's life—perhaps the nation's—in my hands in those critical days.

The sensational and almost incredible events that led up to the ending of the war were handled by the Political Correspondents. So was the grim news of Dunkirk, and that "doodle-bugs" and, later, rockets were to add to the many troubles of the hard-pressed people of Britain.

It so happened that, as an officer of the Parliamentary Home Guard, I was in charge of an inlying picket at the Palace of Westminster the night the first flying-bomb came, and actually saw it go straight overhead. It was a somewhat unnerving confirmation of the top secret memorandum I had, just before, sent to my Editor!

Several of the leading Political Correspondents are also the Diplomatic Correspondents of their newspapers. In that capacity, I and others have travelled the world, attending international conferences, interpreting international events as we interpret home affairs.

A Political Correspondent holds high rank in his office, and his personal prestige, in his office, in Parliament, and with his readers is considerable. He must have a high sense of responsibility, both to his office and to the public at large, for he can make great mischief if he is irresponsible or ill-informed. And the Political Correspondents as a body treasure many tributes paid to them by leading figures in all political Parties, and by some very august Personages, for their handling of difficult situations and "stories".

It is not only the grim affairs of life that are dealt with by the Lobby men. They were chosen as the channel through

which the nation and the world were given the joyful news of the engagement and marriage of Princess Elizabeth, and several other items of news calling for a "special touch" in presentation.

There is the keenest competition between the Political Correspondents to get exclusive items of news—or "scoops"—but there is also a strong co-operative spirit in corporate matters. Several of the leading Political Correspondents have been in Parliament for decades. Mr. George Turnbull, "Father" of the Lobby, has been there without a break for well over forty years, and so has Mr. Francis Sulley, of the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*.

I think it is largely the fact that the job is a high-ranking one in the newspaper world and the fact that its holders live in close personal relationship with Ministers, M.P.s, Peers and officials of all grades, that produces the—on the whole—excellent and reliable accounts of our British public life in the Press.

For the Political Correspondents are, in a very special sense, part of Parliament, part of its machinery and tradition. And they are intensely proud of the fact.

THE PRESS

"The liberty of the Press is the Palladium of all the civil, political, and religious rights of an Englishman." *The Letters of Junius*. [Although more than 40 persons have been suggested as the writer of these letters the evidence points to Sir Philip Francis (1740-1818) as the most likely author.]

"The Gallery in which the reporters sit has become a fourth estate of the realm." T. B. Macaulay (1800-1859) in *On Hallam's Constitutional History* (1828).

"Burke said there were Three Estates in Parliament; but, in the Reporter Gallery yonder, there sat a Fourth Estate more important far than they all." Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881) in *Heroes and Hero Worship* (1841).

THE FOURTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE HANSARD SOCIETY

The fourth Annual General Meeting of the Hansard Society was held on 4th November, 1948, in the Tudor Room, Caxton Hall, Westminster. The following is a summary of the proceedings.

THE Chairman, Commander Stephen King-Hall, said: "Mr. Churchill has sent us a message. He says: 'I send my best wishes for the work of the Hansard Society, and congratulate the Council and the members of the Society on the striking progress it has made during the past twelve months. There are few things more important today than to stimulate public interest all over the world in the parliamentary institutions which are an indispensable instrument of democracy. I hope that all those who understand the importance at this time of the democratic way of life will support the work of the Hansard Society.'

"I welcome as our guests tonight ten German political leaders who are now in this country as the guests of our Society, studying the place of Parliament in British life. Your Council felt it would be appropriate to invite them to be here tonight in order that they should hear about the activities of this Society, which exists to promote knowledge about the institution of Parliament.

"There is no doubt that if we were a public company our goodwill would be valued in the Balance Sheet at a pretty high figure. You have in your hands the Annual Report of the Council for the past year, and if you will turn to the penultimate page of the Report, you will see there that we are on the wrong side to the extent of £179 3s. 6d. I believe I could now go on to tell you that this is not too bad—and possibly get away with it. But that is not my intention, for I want to show you that in some respects our financial situation is not really satisfactory. We are not bankrupt and the accounts are

genuine and properly audited. But we have received during the past year donations towards our work, that is to say, donations over and above the Special Appeal which we made for Hansard House, which amount, one way and another, to nearly £1,500. If we had not managed to get those donations towards current expenditure, we should either not have been able to do the amount of work we have done, or we should have had to have done it on credit and ended up about £1,650 on the wrong side.

"One of the most difficult problems confronting the commander of armed forces in battle is the decision as to when he shall throw his main forces into the attack. The Council decided that during the year 1947/48 we would throw everything we had into the battle for democracy. We reached that decision for two reasons. Firstly, because of the character of the international crisis in which we are living at this time. We are a democratic David fighting the Cominform Goliath. This Society fights totalitarianism in all its forms, not by being negatively against it but by being positively for that institution of Parliament which we think is an indispensable instrument of democracy. The second reason was that we felt that during the past year we must make a supreme effort to put the Hansard Society definitely, clearly and substantially on the map of British public life, as a preliminary to making it a force for the good of democracy in international life.

"You will see in your Report some of the things we have managed to do. We have very nearly doubled our membership. We have become recognized by the British Government as the body in Britain for advancing the cause of the institution of Parliament. There were other achievements during the year, but I would say those were the most important. We have got a foothold in the fortress of ignorance and apathy, but I do not want you to imagine we have done more than that. The question we have to consider this evening is: Are we to enlarge that foothold during the next twelve months? Are we merely to retain the position we have got? Or are we going to retreat?

"As you will see from these accounts, what I call our assured revenue comes to about £3,000 a year, the bulk of which of

course is members' subscriptions, and a certain profit which we hope to get from publications. But I am bound to tell you that in my judgment we really require an absolute minimum of about £4,000 a year to carry on as we are going at the time. Now I do not know whether we can raise extra donations this year; nor do I know whether certain possibilities will mature.

"Some of the possibilities are very long shots. Someone has written a new play and given it to the Society; it may produce little, it may produce a lot of money, it has already produced £25 as a matter of fact; but I know enough of plays to tell you that you cannot take credit for revenue from a play that has not yet been produced when you make out your budget. Then again, we cannot be sure how much profit the Society will make out of its publications, although I can give you one good piece of news, and that is, that since the Annual Report was published, we have sold more than 1,000 copies of the third edition of our famous book, *Our Parliament*.

"But, quite apart from this uncertain position of whether we shall have enough revenue to hold our own or even do better than we did last year, we are always in the dilemma of the shortage of working capital. Tonight we have two books in varying stages of completion, one on the French Parliament and the other on the House of Lords.

"It is our job to publish books like these but you cannot go to printers and commit yourselves to that sort of thing without having some reasonable expectation that you will be able to pay the printing bill. I would say that those two books require capital expenditure in the region of £750, and we have not got it.

"We get continual requests for the five pamphlets which we first published and which are now out of print. The type is standing, but if I were to give an order tomorrow for 2,000 copies of those pamphlets to be printed, we would need £170.

"Hardly a day passes without a request from a society, school or association of some kind for a lecture on Parliament. If we had £1,000 to set up a lecture department, I believe that

within a very short time that department would pay for itself.

"*Parliamentary Affairs* will become, I believe, a source of revenue to the Society, and the rate at which it does that will depend upon the extent to which we can get advertising revenue. I believe that already it is a perfectly commercial proposition to take space in *Parliamentary Affairs* for various kinds of prestige advertising, and we hope our corporate members will turn a benevolent eye upon us when they are making out their advertising programme.

"Members are entitled to be assured that we are economical in our operation, and I hope you will forgive me if I give you a word of personal explanation here because I have been your Honorary Director, responsible to the Council, and I have to see that things are properly conducted. I assure you that the word 'honorary' is very strictly interpreted; we do not run expense or travelling accounts. You will see in your Report that the Canadian Society has asked me to go out there in February and give them a helping hand. The Council have approved that I should accept that invitation. I do want to assure you that expeditions of that character do not involve the Society in any expense whatever.

"There are one or two items in the Accounts which I am going to refer to. If you will turn to the expenditure side first you will observe that there is a printing and stationery expenditure of £1,336. That includes the cost of all the copies of *Parliamentary Affairs* sold to the public and the ones we still have in stock to be bound as volumes. The item immediately underneath, printing of members' publications, is for printing the copies of *Parliamentary Affairs*, the four issues which the members have had in the course of the year.

"We received special donations in order to have a headquarters for our work, and the sum of £2,358, shown on the revenue side includes the first of seven annual payments of £714 by our benefactor Mr. Guggenheim. He is a very modest man and does not seek personal publicity, but I think you will wish me to say 'thank you' on behalf of the Society for this very generous gift of £5,000 which he made to the Society in the form of a seven-year covenant.

"Now if you turn to the Balance Sheet on the back page, you will see there is a loan account which includes the loan from Mrs. King-Hall and myself, and also a loan from our Honorary Treasurer, Mr. Scott-Elliot. Although I use the word 'loans', and although there is no other way they can be described in the Balance Sheet, they are not loans from the point of view of any legal liabilities for the Society. The money has been provided free of interest on the terms that the money will be repaid when and if the Council see fit. In law the Society is under no obligation whatsoever to repay the loans at all. The balance of the loan account is a short-term, interest-free loan from Mr. Guggenheim which we are going to repay out of his own annual payments, simply to put us in funds for the purpose of being able to buy the house about which I shall have something to say in a moment.

"Again on the Balance Sheet, 'Sundry Creditors' of £1,009 may look alarming to some people, but you will see on the other side we have 'Sundry Debtors' of £2,151. You may say 'Are the debts any good?' £800 are owed by His Majesty's Government, and we have got enough faith to think that as the machine grinds round, we will get the £800; and the rest of the money is in the hands of our honorary solicitor, Mr. Keith Miller Jones, who is merely holding that money because we hoped we might be able to buy the house, and we transferred 10 per cent. of the purchase price to our solicitor.

"Finally, you will see the estimated stock of our literature is shown as £378. I find it difficult to understand the theory of Balance Sheets, but that figure is low for the following reason; although when this Balance Sheet was drawn up we had committed ourselves to the expenditure of printing a book, the book in a final form was not visibly in our possession. It therefore could not be shown, apparently, on the right as an asset, but since this Balance Sheet was made up we have got 5,000 copies of the book and, as I have told you, we have sold more than 1,000 already.

"Now, I want to say a word about this house. After a great and exhausting search, we found a house at 11 Catherine

Place, which is now being used for professional and business purposes. We applied to the Westminster City Council for a licence for headquarters for the Society, and I must confess that I and various experts thought it would be a formality. Well, the long and short of the matter is that our application has been turned down, and we have appealed to the Minister of Health.

"Two final points. We have now come to the conclusion that it is permissible for members of this Society to pay subscriptions by seven-year covenant which, of course, will make a very considerable difference to our income. If members feel able to do that, I must tell them that they are committing themselves to supporting the Society for seven years, but their estate would not be liable if they went to a better place before the seven years were over.

"The last point I want to make—and I would like to get this spread around as much as possible—is that if any of you take *Hansard* or belong to a firm that buys publications from His Majesty's Stationery Office, you can place your orders through the Hansard Society. You will not pay any more, you will get them just as quickly, and the Society will benefit by the extent of the usual trade discount.

"We must recognize that we are pioneers in a hitherto neglected field; we seek to find a way to bring to men the great truth that the institution of Parliament in all its free forms is an indispensable instrument of the free way of life. I have told you some of our difficulties, but I do not want you to think for a moment that we are daunted by them. We must overcome them. As pioneers we must say in this very early stage of our crusade, and I would emphasize that we are really in a very early stage of what is going to be a very long and big job, we must say, in the words of Walt Whitman: 'The path to the house I seek to make, but leave to those to come the house itself.' "

Major C. P. Mayhew, M.P., Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in seconding the adoption of the Report, said: "My purpose in coming here was merely to say a few words to thank the Hansard Society

on behalf of the Foreign Secretary for the work you have done in helping to bring German politicians over to Britain to see the workings of British democracy. We in the Foreign Office deeply appreciate this work. You are entirely non-official, and though, most discreetly, we shall have as little as possible to do with you, there are occasions nevertheless, when your work of explaining British democracy to Germany, to Europe and to the world is of the utmost importance to British foreign policy. The truth is, in my view, that British democracy today is as vigorous and healthy as at any time in British history. We at the Foreign Office know that the influence of British democracy and the example of Britain through all the difficult times we have to face is of the greatest importance to British foreign policy in giving a constructive alternative to Communism to the peoples of Europe, a way of life which is acceptable, I believe, to millions and millions of people not only in Britain but in Europe as a whole.

"I would like to say just a few words upon the subject of Germany and the work the Society has done there. It is Lord Henderson who should have come to make this speech because he is more directly concerned with German affairs than I am myself, but I did recently come back from a visit to Germany and would like to say one or two things about the attempts which are being made in Germany today to construct democracy there. Unquestionably the picture I found was an encouraging one. The German people face great problems, but there has been almost a transformation in outlook in Germany in recent months. This is partly due to the miraculous success of the currency reform, and partly it is due to the heartening effect of the resolute stand of the Berliners at the present time.

"I am not, of course, going deeply into this question because you have much more business on your agenda, but I merely want to stress that the more German politicians can be invited over to Britain to see at first hand the strengths and the weaknesses of British democracy, the better chance I believe they will have of fulfilling their task of creating in Germany a live and vigorous democracy. When I was in Germany I

went to the Parliamentary Council at Bonn, where, as you know, German political leaders are working out a new democratic constitution for Western Germany, and for a British Member of Parliament it was extremely interesting to note the atmosphere at Bonn in comparison with the atmosphere at British political meetings or in the House of Commons. In Germany, enjoying freedom of speech means something special. At a meeting such as the Parliamentary Council at Bonn you can see that the novelty of freedom of speech has not yet worn off, and that those who have suffered dictatorship for long years enjoy the opportunity to speak freely in public on matters of great political importance.

"May I thank the Hansard Society on behalf of the Foreign Secretary for what you are doing. I am sure British democracy owes a great deal to its long, slow growth. It cannot, therefore, be expected to be transported in its exact form to any country of the world. Nevertheless, we do feel we have the essentials of parliamentary democracy here, the tolerance of the other man's point of view, the respect of the political rights of one's opponents, willingness to discuss these things and the acceptance of a majority vote without overriding the rights of the minority. These things are the essence of the atmosphere of British democracy. We, who have learned so much from Germany in our long history, shall be proud if our experience, the lessons of our success and failure, can be helpful to those who in Germany today are trying to build a new democracy. If this is so, then the importance of your work is obvious, and we hope that you will be able to continue the work you are doing for us in this respect. Therefore I do most heartily wish to thank you for the great efforts you have made in this connection, and I hope your work continues to progress in the future as it is doing now."

Mr. Geoffrey de Freitas, M.P., Under-Secretary of State for Air, said: "I feel I am entitled to start by saying: 'If you read Hansard'. If you read today's *Hansard* you will see that the Under-Secretary of State for Air, myself, replied to a relatively small Bill, which is called the *Recall of Army and Air Force Pensioners Bill*, and sat down, according to the clock, actually

four minutes before he got here. If this speech is not a polished Parliamentary oration you will know why! I was just in a hurry to come here.

"I am very glad to come here because I was very struck, in reading the Report, by the sentence that said that the Council invited each member to regard the Hansard Society as one of the channels through which individuals can make a positive and personal contribution to the cause of democracy. It is really quite clear that we have a chance of building up this Society so that it will be strong enough to tell the whole world of the parliamentary institutions we have developed here in this country. Our history has made us so accustomed to smooth and orderly change, behind an almost unchanging façade, that we are inclined, even here, to forget that Parliament is essentially dynamic and not static. Many people, when they get sold on the idea of Parliament, see Members of Parliament as the political descendants of the knights of the shires and burgesses who, for so many centuries, came riding to Westminster to found the Parliament we know. To many more, the Socialists and Conservatives sitting in the House are seen as an orderly, or mostly orderly, procession of men who have been going to Westminster, sometimes calling themselves Cavaliers, sometimes Roundheads, sometimes Whigs, sometimes Tories, and developing the institution over seven hundred years. If, over the centuries, the progression of men to Westminster has been orderly, or mostly orderly—and it has been—it is because our predecessors in Parliament realized that government must be flexible at all times, and we have built up—and we Members today know very well that we have built up—these parliamentary institutions only because our predecessors adapted their institutions to meet the social and political forces of the time.

"Now we recognize that as long as we want a system of government based on discussion, as long as we want governments changed by secret ballot, our parliamentary institutions will grow. We know that in our country they are not really under serious attack; so long as we can defend ourselves from outside aggression we are safe in this country. We recognize

it is suitable to us, but we have doubts of its suitability for other people, especially non-Europeans. But what has happened in recent years? In recent years our example and our encouragement have resulted in the setting up of Parliaments on our model in all parts of the world. If parliamentary institutions can work, and work smoothly, in countries separated from us by thousands of miles of land and sea, by centuries of technical development, and by at least decades of education, then there is a real hope that in that institution lies the key to free government in a free world, because it is the only form of government which is flexible enough to grow with people. It is only a parliamentary democracy which can fit itself into a greater unity, whether Commonwealth, or tightly controlled federal system, or a group of sovereign States.

"But against this spread of parliamentary institutions we have to count the real zeal and ingenuity of the enemies of this system, and if we should balance the gains, particularly recently, in the Commonwealth, against the most striking loss in Central Europe, and say that we were winning, we would just fool ourselves. The case of enemies of democracy may not be good, but it is maintained by men and women who for the most part have the integrity and zeal and the fanaticism of the early Christians. We got off to a good start in parliamentary democracy in the battle of the twentieth century, but we are going to lose it unless we begin teaching people to value the high ideals as well as the material benefits of parliamentary government. We must begin by not taking for granted what we have got. We must learn to marvel at the simple electoral device of putting a cross against someone's name and realizing that no one need ever know against whose name we have put a cross. When we have learned to value that, we shall learn to value a community in which compromise and agreement to disagree is regarded as a sign of strength and not as weakness.

"I would like to put the task of my fellow-members of this Society in two ways. Firstly, as we have been called a nation of shopkeepers, let us put the task to a nation of shopkeepers; secondly, as we have been called a nation of politicians, let us put it to a nation of politicians. As shopkeepers we know that

in our system of government we have produced something that is good, and there is a sellers' market overseas for our good system of government. Unlike most exports the export of this institution deprives us of nothing at all, but like most exports we get in return something of real value, because there is certainly no greater link between peoples than a common form of government. But who is the export agency? The Board of Trade do not handle it, and to the British Council it is merely a side-line. It falls on us as members of the Hansard Society. As politicians, we must realize the necessity of acting as the Cominform of parliamentary democracy. As I say, we tend to take this thing for granted. We distrust the abstract and therefore do not make particularly good proselytisers of ideas. But even if it is difficult, it must be done. The object of our Society is stated to be the advancement of the gospel or cause expressed in the words 'parliamentary institutions', and the fact that that advancement is a difficult task must not deter us. We must regard difficulty merely as a challenge."

A brief discussion ensued during which Miss Lakeman asked whether the Council was satisfied that printing costs were being kept to a minimum, and Mr. Solomons sought information about the procedure for electing members to the Council.

After the Report had been carried unanimously, the Chairman, before proposing the election of Councillors for 1948-49, said: "Mr. Ronald Fredenburgh is retiring under Rule 13 (1), and I cannot let him go without telling you that he was one of the people who was really in on the very early days of this business, and in fact he was at times, shall I say, the Assistant Honorary Director of the Society, because he happened to be in the same office as I. Mr. Fredenburgh, who has the welfare of the Society at heart, suggested that as he has been on the Council for so long, perhaps it was in the interests of the Society that he should, at any rate temporarily, stand down and let us get fresh blood on to the Council, in order to get other interests represented. Of course, as the years go on we shall have to do that more and more."

The Chairman proposed, Mr. Lees seconded, and the

meeting unanimously approved the election of the following persons to fill the vacancies on the Council for the year, 1948-49:

Mr. W. Greville Collins

Mr. Evelyn King, M.P.

Mr. Hugh Linstead, O.B.E., M.P.

The Rev. H. M. Waddams, M.A.

Miss Judith Jackson, O.B.E., proposed, Mr. Parsons seconded, and the meeting unanimously approved the election of the following Officers for 1948-49:

Hon. Director: Commander Stephen King-Hall

Hon. Treasurer: Mr. W. Scott-Elliot, M.P.

Hon. Solicitor: Mr. Keith Miller Jones

Mr. Keith Miller Jones proposed, Mr. Fredenburgh seconded, and the meeting unanimously approved the appointment of Mr. F. S. Suter, A.L.A.A., as Honorary Auditor for 1948-49.

The Meeting was then declared at an end.

HANSARD REPORTING IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

THE work of reporting the Debates of Parliament in Southern Rhodesia is done under contract. It is so arranged that a carbon copy of much of the report can be made available and circulated to Members at regular intervals during the day's sitting, the remainder being ready for revision within an hour of the rising of the House. In order to facilitate rapid transcription, printers' abbreviations are employed. As the hours of sitting for the first ten days are from 2.15 to 6 p.m., a reporting staff of three is well able to deal with the work, aided as they are by an expert staff of typists who operate from direct dictation on to the machine. As the Session proceeds the Standing Orders provide for later sittings, either by extending the period to 7 p.m. or suspending business at 6 p.m., resuming at 8, and sitting until 11 p.m. As far as the House records show, there has never been an all night sitting, although during the debates on the Acquisition of the Mineral Rights some 15 years ago the House continued until well after midnight.

The House consists of 30 Members. Its proceedings have been invariably marked with a sense of good order and dignity. The duty of *Hansard* is to make "a full report—one which, though not strictly verbatim, is substantially a verbatim report, with repetitions and redundancies omitted and obvious mistakes corrected, but which on the other hand leaves out nothing that adds to the meaning of the speech or illustrates the argument".

Printed copies of the Debates are issued daily to the public at a cost of about 15s. a session, which is normally of some three months' duration. There has been so far no great demand for *Hansard*. The demand will doubtless increase when the Hansard Society's activities extend to the colony.

During the last two years the reporting work has been shared by a lady stenographer who gave up a pensionable post to do so and has shown herself remarkably dexterous in turning out a report which "leaves out nothing that adds to the meaning of the speech or illustrates the argument".

The Colony hopes to have a new Parliament House before long. The present Debating Chamber was at one time the dining room of an hotel. In the door at the back can still be seen the cut-away hole through which the hotel cat would proceed on nightly prowls.

Yet in this modest building, newly stuccoed without and girdered within, is something which links it closely with Home. In the vestibule, enshrined in its little niche in the inner wall, well lighted from the rear, is displayed a panel of fragments of the stained glass blasted during the blitz from the windows of the House of Commons.

The *Hansard* reporting staff, duly gowned, are provided with seats in front of the Clerks and just behind the Table. It is only when too many Blue Books are Tabled, or the Chairman of Committees has a bad cough, that everything cannot be clearly heard. But as the public at the rear of the Chamber have many of the Members' backs facing them, they are unable to hear all that is addressed to Mr. Speaker. *Hansard* office, too, is in a separate building and in time of tropical rain the staff, going to and fro in turns, are apt to become a little bedraggled and their notes a little blurred.

It is reliably recorded that some quarter of a century back, in the time of the Chartered Company, the Legislative Council of those days was accustomed to sit for a strictly limited number of hours during the afternoons and, when an Unopposed Motion was brought up to extend the sitting hours on one occasion, *Hansard*, who had a "date", did not wait for the outcome but folded up his book and disappeared from view.

The Legislative Council, on this silent but effective objection, thereupon adjourned.

A. E. LAMB,

Contractor for the reporting of Parliamentary Debates.



Photo: A. F. Lamb

Southern Rhodesian Parliament

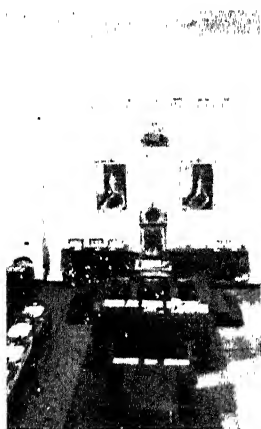


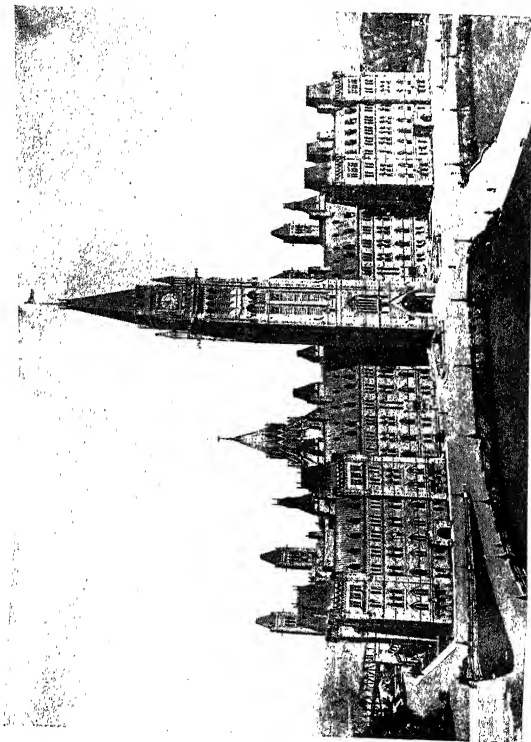
Photo: A. E. Lamb

Interior S. R. Parliament



Photo: A. E. Lamb

Official Opening 1948



The Parliament Building, Ottawa
Courtesy: National Film Board of Canada

LEGISLATIVE BUILDINGS OF THE WORLD—III

CANADA'S PARLIAMENT BUILDING

THE choice of Ottawa as the capital city of Canada followed one of the most heated controversies in Canadian history—though one long since dead. When Canada was ceded to Great Britain in 1763, Quebec was the capital. In 1791 the territory was divided into Upper and Lower Canada, but the two parts were re-united in 1841 and the first Legislature was summoned to meet in a hospital at Kingston which had been designated by the Governor General, Lord Sydenham, as the capital of the Province of Canada. In 1844 the Colonial Secretary informed the Governor General that Her Majesty had approved the choice of Montreal as the capital of Canada, and from 1844-49 Parliament met in that city. After the riots and fire which destroyed the Montreal Parliament Building in 1849, the Legislature met in Toronto, from 1851-55 in Quebec, and from 1855-59 in Toronto again.

By now the question of the capital city had become highly involved. Kingston claimed the privilege of providing the capital on the grounds that it had been the home of the first Legislature of the re-united Canada. Montreal was in a better situation and pointed out that it was Her Majesty's choice in 1844. Toronto emphasized that the population of Upper Canada was greater than that of Lower Canada and that therefore Toronto would be more suitable. Quebec based its claim on its long history as the capital under both France and Britain. Hamilton, Ottawa, and other growing cities felt that their claims should be considered.

Eventually, it was decided to ask Queen Victoria to exercise her royal prerogative and make the choice, and in 1858 it was learned that Her Majesty had selected Ottawa as the seat of government. This decision the Legislature was most reluctant to accept. The Prime Minister wished to support the

Queen's choice, but he could not depend on his colleagues, and the Chief Commissioner of Public Works showed his disapproval by resigning.

The matter came to a head early in 1859 when the Speech from the Throne asked the Legislature to "recognize a selection made by Her Majesty at your own request". After lengthy discussion, the Address was carried by a narrow majority and Ottawa was chosen as Canada's capital—a choice which has worked out to general satisfaction.

The construction of the Parliament Building began almost at once, and in the meantime the Legislature returned to Quebec. In 1866 the Legislature of the Province of Canada met for the first time in the new Parliament Building of Ottawa.

The years during which the Parliament Building was being built were of historic importance for Canada. Following the publication of the *Durham Report* in 1838, the subject of Confederation had been in the minds of Canadian statesmen, and eventually, in 1864, the Fathers of Confederation met in Quebec. By *The British North America Act*, 1867, which gave legislative effect to the proposals for Confederation, the Dominion of Canada came into existence, with Ottawa as the seat of government. In November, 1867, the first Parliament of the Dominion met in the new Parliament Building in Ottawa which, less than a year before, had been first used as the home of the Provincial Legislature.

In 1916, the Parliament Building was destroyed by fire, the origin of which remains a mystery to this day. A Royal Commission investigated the cause of the disaster and, in their first report, indicated that there was evidence of incendiarism. They promised to give further information in a later report, but no such document was ever published. The Library escaped destruction, but otherwise the building was badly damaged. A Member of Parliament, the Clerk Assistant of the House of Commons, two members of the House staff, and three other persons lost their lives. The Speaker's Chair and the Mace were rescued from the blazing building, and the contents of the Library, though suffering damage by water, were not destroyed.

The House of Commons found a temporary home in the Public Hall of the Victoria National Memorial Museum, and the new Parliament Building, in Gothic style similar to that of the building destroyed by fire, was ready for use early in 1920. It stands on a bluff, popularly known as "Parliament Hill", high above the Ottawa River. Visiting strollers and stenographers taking lunch on the benches along the riverside, look far down on a busy scene of rafts of pulp-logs being brought into the paper mills on the Quebec side. This panorama is to be greatly altered when the new Federal District plan clears industry away from the opposite side of the river and develops new boulevards and residential areas there.

The main building is about half the length of the Palace of Westminster, being 470 feet long and 245 feet wide. Dominated as it is by the 300-foot Peace Tower, it scarcely gives the impression of being a six-storey building.

The main entrance leads into Confederation Hall, underneath the Peace Tower. It is a handsome chamber, in the centre of which is a great stone column. Immediately above Confederation Hall is the Memorial Chamber, erected in honour of the heroism and sacrifices of Canadian men and women during the First World War. The Peace Tower is in many ways reminiscent of the Clock Tower at Westminster and the London-made clock and bells play the Westminster chimes.

The House of Commons Chamber, at the west end, is an oblong almost exactly the same length as the Commons Chamber at Westminster, but a few feet wider.¹ With a membership of less than half of Westminster's it is therefore much less crowded, and is provided with individual desks and armchairs for the M.P.s as in the United States Congress. Every Member has an aisle seat which encourages a good deal of moving about.

The acoustics of the Chamber are extremely bad so that it is impossible to hear many Members, a failing which has been over-corrected, it would seem, in the Parliamentary Restaurant, where confidential whisperings will travel surprisingly far.

¹ The Canadian Chamber is 72 feet long and 54 feet wide: that at Westminster is 68 feet long and 45½ feet wide.

The Commons Chamber otherwise resembles its London counterpart, with the Speaker's Chair at one end, the Bar facing the Chair, the narrow gangway, the galleries for the Diplomatic Corps, Senators, the public and the Press, with the Government supporters sitting on the Speaker's right and the Opposition on his left.

The Senate Chamber at the east end, known from its bright leather upholstery as the "Red Chamber", is similar in design to the Commons Chamber but is much smaller and has no side galleries. Members sit at desks on each side of the Speaker. It is a magnificent oak-panelled room, ornamented with stone and wood carvings, and is used for many official functions.

The beautiful Library of Parliament, which survived the fire of 1916, lies at the rear of the main Parliament Building. It was designed by Thomas Fuller, the Chief Dominion Architect of the day, and is octagonal in shape, in many ways reminiscent of the Reading Room of the British Museum. In the centre is a large marble statue of Queen Victoria. The Library contains over half a million volumes, many of them dealing with parliamentary affairs.

There are no private residences in the Parliament Building as there are at the Palace of Westminster but, in addition to the rooms already described, there are a large number of rooms for the use of members and officials. The Speaker of the House of Commons has a suite on the north corridor consisting of a beautiful study and library, a lounge, an office for his private secretary, and a waiting room. There is similar accommodation for the Speaker of the Senate.

The Prime Minister has an office on the fourth floor at the south-west corner, and the Leader of the Opposition has a room immediately below the Prime Minister's. The Prime Minister, as Leader of the House, has another office near the Commons Chamber and is also able to use an office at the Privy Council building.

There are a number of committee rooms and two caucus rooms where party meetings are held. "Room Sixteen", as it is called, is a comfortable waiting room for visitors and is a

great improvement on the draughty and rather cheerless Central Lobby at Westminster. There is a large Reading Room for the Commons, a smaller Reading Room for the Senate, a Parliamentary Restaurant, and a number of smaller dining rooms. As in the United States, members of both Houses are provided with office accommodation, in most cases with two Members to a room. The Press quarters, convenient to the Commons Chamber, have overflowed into an adjoining corridor.

Canada, in its democratic institutions as in so much else, is a bridge between Britain and the United States. The visitor from Britain will find that the atmosphere and activities of the Parliament Building of Ottawa are reminiscent of the Palace of Westminster, yet there are unmistakable signs of the influence of the vigorous Republic to the south.

By foresight or intuition a tenth shield was left blank above the doorway of the new Parliament Building, and this will now nicely accommodate the arms of the new province of Newfoundland.

S. D. B.

PARLIAMENT AND THE CONVOCATIONS OF THE CHURCH

by G. W. O. ADDLESHAW, M.A., B.D. (Oxon.)

(*Canon Addleshaw is Canon-Residentiary and Treasurer of York Minster. He was Vice-Principal and Fellow of St. Chad's College, Durham, 1939-46.*)

IT may come as a surprise to many readers of this journal to know that there are in England two legislative bodies, which have not been created by Parliament and whose laws when they have received the royal assent are part of the public law of the country. These bodies are the Convocations of the clergy of the provinces of Canterbury and York, meeting regularly at London and York under the presidency of their respective archbishops. Although the Convocations took on their present shape in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the same period which saw the rise of modern parliamentary institutions in this country, they have an ancestry as distinguished as that of Parliament and certainly older. For instance, on one side the Convocation of York can be regarded as the descendant of the Witan of the Northumbrian Kings; the lay members have migrated to Westminster, but the clerical members still meet at York to take counsel for the spiritual welfare of the North of England. On the other side its ancestry goes back to those councils of bishops, which were a recognized feature of church life long before our heathen ancestors were converted by the missionaries from Rome and Iona.

The Christian Church like any other society needs legislative organs; and since the Constantinian era one of the chief legislative organs of the Church has been councils of bishops, drawn sometimes from the whole Church like the Councils of Nicaea (325) or Chalcedon (451), or sometimes from a particular region or locality. The legislation of these councils took the form of rules, usually rather succinctly drafted, called

canons, dealing with the particular needs of the Church in the area from which the members of the council came. The canons put out by these councils varied in number; they are not usually logically arranged, nor, except occasionally in Africa or Spain, was there any attempt to put out canons forming anything approaching a comprehensive code. Such councils, or synods as they are often called, were common in England in the seventh and eighth centuries; but in the later Anglo-Saxon period both temporal and ecclesiastical affairs were dealt with in the Witan, in which of course the bishops had a seat. The thorough reorganization of the law and administration of the Church, which was initiated by the papacy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was largely carried through by a renewed use of councils or synods of bishops, in the twelfth century on a national, and in the thirteenth century on a provincial basis. Their legislation, which was an application of the papal reforms to local needs, was put out in the form of constitutions, in shape exactly like the old canons. In strict ecclesiastical theory councils should be composed only of bishops; but the national church councils of the twelfth century contained in addition to the bishops, heads of religious houses and archdeacons.

Side by side with the purely church councils there grew up in the thirteenth century another form of ecclesiastical assembly, consisting not only of bishops, abbots, priors and archdeacons, but also of representatives or proctors, as they are called in technical language, of the parochial clergy. These assemblies were summoned for a civil purpose, that of voting subsidies to the Crown from clerical property. At one time Edward I wished the clergy to form a third estate in Parliament along with the Lords and Commons; but they preferred to meet and vote taxes in their own assemblies. By the middle of the fourteenth century the two types of ecclesiastical assembly are found to have coalesced, producing the Convocations of Canterbury and York as they exist today. The Convocations, each with two houses, one of the archbishop and diocesan bishops, the other of heads of religious houses, deans, archdeacons and proctors of the parochial clergy, had thus a

two-fold nature. As a civil assembly of the clergy of the province, they voted subsidies to the Crown out of clerical property; as a council or synod of the province, they dealt with ecclesiastical affairs.

In the later Middle Ages and down to the year 1665, the main reason for the meeting of the Convocations was the voting of taxes; though they achieved in addition a certain amount of useful legislation, notably the canons of 1603. These canons are one of the chief sources of the ecclesiastical law and are at present being revised by the Convocations on the basis of the proposals in the *Canon Law Report* of 1947. Definite statutory limits were placed on the legislative powers of the Convocations by the Act for the Submission of the Clergy (1534), the details of which will be explained later on in this article. In 1665 a private arrangement was made between Archbishop Sheldon and the Lord Chancellor, Clarendon, by which the clergy ceased to tax themselves in the Convocations and were henceforth to be taxed along with the other estates of the realm in Parliament. The chief reason for the meeting of the Convocations came to an end. They were regularly summoned when Parliament met, but were prorogued before doing any business. This continued down to the middle of the last century, with the exception of the years 1700-17, when the Convocations met and transacted business, and the Canterbury Convocation played a considerable part in Church affairs. These years were marked by an acrimonious controversy between the two houses of the Canterbury Convocation on their respective rights, which resulted in a by no means inconsiderable or unimportant body of pamphlet literature. The protagonists of the Upper House, Wake, the future Archbishop of Canterbury, and Gibson, the future Bishop of London, belonged to the group of clergy who in this period laid the foundations of scientific historical study, and their pamphlets are still the best literature available on the constitution of the Convocations. The champion of the Lower House, Atterbury, the future Bishop of Rochester, was no match for his opponents as a historian, but his pamphlets are worthy of the age, in which it seemed almost impossible for a

clergyman to produce a badly-turned sentence. His style is almost as good as Swift's, and his epigrams would not have been disdained by Mrs. Millamant herself, supposing that good lady had chosen ecclesiastical politics as a theme for her conversational powers.

In 1717 the attacks of the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury on the latitudinarian Bishop of Bangor, Hoadly, which were thought to be a Tory plot to embarrass the Government, led to the Convocations being continuously prorogued without being allowed to transact business till the middle of the nineteenth century. The Canterbury Convocation again began to function in 1854, and the York Convocation in 1861. Since then the Convocations have been the bodies in which the domestic concerns of the Church of England have been dealt with, though in this connection we must remember that since 1919 there has also been in existence the Church Assembly. This is a body set up by Parliament at the request of the Church; in it are represented not only the bishops and diocesan clergy, but also the laity; and it too deals with the domestic concerns of the Church, chiefly its finance, administration and external organization. Convocations deal with doctrinal and spiritual issues, voice the opinion of the clergy, and ventilate their grievances. The legislation of the Convocations, within the limits set by the Henrician Act, has taken the form of amendments or additions to the canons of 1603. The last piece of such legislation was in 1946, when the canon containing the Table of Kindred and Affinity was amended, and at the time of writing this article a canon setting up a new court, dealing with clergy discipline, awaits the royal assent.

Blackstone, in an often-quoted passage in the *Commentaries* (I, c. 7), describes Convocation as:

"the miniature of a parliament, wherein the archbishop presides with regal state; the upper house of bishops representing the house of lords; and the lower house, composed of representatives of the several dioceses at large, and of each particular chapter therein, resembles the house of commons with its knights of the shire and burgesses."

At first sight nothing would seem more apt than Blackstone's assumption that the Convocations are a clerical counterpart of Parliament. Convocation is summoned and dissolved, and that in pursuance of a royal writ addressed to the archbishop, at the same time as Parliament; elections to the Lower Houses of the Convocations and the House of Commons take place at the same time, and the clergy who are standing for election canvass their constituencies. The houses of the Convocations meet separately; each has its chairman, the Upper House the archbishop, the Lower House the prolocutor, as he is called, and the consent of each house is necessary before a canon can become law. Each Convocation has its *Hansard*, the *Journal of Convocation*. In actual fact, however, Blackstone was wrong; the inner workings of the Convocations and Parliament are quite different.

The theory underlying the Constitution of the Convocations is one which has been deduced from the pages of the New Testament, namely that only those have power to rule the Church in Christ's name who have been sent by Him, that is the apostles and then the bishops; and the bishops exercise their governmental powers by meeting together as a body in a council or synod, and there in the name of Christ making laws for the parts of the Church over which they happen to preside. Owing to the peculiar circumstances of English history, the priesthood have by right through their elected representatives a place in the synods of the Church, but it is not an equal right. The Lower Houses in the Convocations do not exercise anything approaching the same powers as the House of Commons in Parliament, nor is the prolocutor a kind of clerical speaker.

The president of both houses in a Convocation is the archbishop. At the command of the King, but in his own name, he summons primarily the diocesan bishops of his province to take counsel with him for the welfare of the Church in the province, and also representatives of the clergy to assist the bishops in their work. The Convocation is one body meeting in two houses, and the archbishop is president equally of the Upper and the Lower House, and though the Lower

House meets separately, it must act in dependence on the bishops. This means four things:

1. The archbishop alone can compel the attendance of members of the Lower House.

2. The prolocutor is not so much president of the Lower House, as the connecting link between the two houses when they meet separately. In his own person he conveys the wishes of the Upper to the Lower House, and states the views of the Lower House on any matter under discussion to the bishops. He is elected by the Lower House; but the election has to be approved by the bishops.

3. The Upper House has the power of directing the Lower House to consider such business as it thinks fit; nor has the Lower House any power to refuse consideration of any business thus sent down to it.

4. The two Houses can, and in the Convocation of York they frequently do, meet together for the transaction of business. In this case the archbishop presides over both houses as one body, though voting is by houses.

On the other hand the Lower House possesses two important privileges. No act or canon is deemed to have the assent of Convocation unless it has been passed in the Lower as well as in the Upper House; and the Lower House can meet, debate and transact business as a separate house apart from the bishops.

At the present time the Convocations meet two or three times a year for two days at a time. The session begins by both houses meeting together for an address by the president; then the Canterbury Convocation transacts its business as two houses; the York Convocation, a smaller body, often meets as one house. The houses meet in committee when they so desire. The decisions of the Convocations may take the form of a resolution expressing the mind of the clergy on some question of public import; or an act, providing authoritative regulations on some department of Church life, or a canon, which, when it has received the royal assent, becomes part of the ecclesiastical law and as such enforceable in the Church courts.

Convocation may be a body which does not owe its origin to Parliament, but its legislative powers have been severely

limited by Parliament, so that a divergence between a canon and a statute is impossible. Under the terms of the Act for the Submission of the Clergy, no constitution or canon of Convocation can become law, unless the Convocation has first obtained the royal licence to make the canon, and the canon itself contains nothing contrary to the royal prerogative or to common, statute or customary law, and, when passed, has received the royal assent. The legislative powers of Convocation have been subsequently still further limited by the rule laid down by the judges of the common law courts, that no canon of Convocation binds the laity unless it is declaratory of the old canon law. This in effect makes the clergy only subject to the modern legislation of Convocation. When the revision of the canons of 1603, at present being undertaken by the Convocations, is completed, many of the canons, because they are intended to bind the laity, will have to receive the additional sanction of an Act of Parliament or a Church Assembly measure. It should also be borne in mind that an archbishop can neither summon nor dissolve his Convocation except in pursuance of a royal writ ordering him to do so.

In the past some churchmen have claimed that all legislation affecting the Church should be done through Convocation; in other words that the King in ecclesiastical matters should govern through the Convocations, as in temporal affairs he governs through Parliament. But since the Reformation large parts of Church life have consistently been dealt with by Acts of Parliament, notably matters of property and organization. Although most of these things are now dealt with in the Church Assembly, they are still under the ultimate control of Parliament; for the Church Assembly is a body set up by Parliament and its Measures are statutory enactments. The subjects which are properly dealt with by a canon of Convocation are such things as the Church's standards of faith, the conduct of divine worship, the furniture of churches, and the duties of the clergy and other church officials.

The Convocations may be purely clerical bodies; but apart from their importance and usefulness in the life of the Church, they have a contribution to make in the government of the

country. The clergy are one of the few remaining professions who still possess a certain amount of freedom and independence in the carrying out of their work, and that work brings them in contact with all classes of people and at times when people show themselves as they really are. Their opinion therefore on any subject of national importance is worth the consideration of our rulers and the Convocations are the means by which their opinions can be made known in an authoritative form. The Convocations themselves are a descendent of those councils of bishops, who particularly in Gaul and Spain on the break up of the Roman Empire passed on to future ages that respect and reverence for every human person which belief in the truth of the Incarnation had taught them. It may be that the Convocations will perform a similar service for the new world which is so rapidly being formed around us.

WANTED: A FRENCH SCHOLAR

This journal has two important manuscripts in French which we desire to publish. Will any member willing to undertake the service of translating these on a voluntary basis please communicate with the Assistant Editor.

THE BUNGA

by E. W. PEARCE

*Mr. Pearce is Administrative Officer and Accountant of the
United Transkeian Territories General Council.*

THE United Transkeian Territories General Council, commonly known as the "Bunga" and frequently referred to as the Native Parliament of the Transkei,¹ grew out of the Fingoland District Fund, an organization created under the guidance of Capt. M. S. Blyth, C.M.G., the first Chief Magistrate of the Transkei (1878 to 1890). By means of this Fund, the natives of Fingoland between the years 1882 and 1893 voluntarily taxed themselves to provide money for the construction and maintenance of roads and for the provision of educational facilities for their children.

In the year 1894, Cecil Rhodes toured the Transkeian Territories and one result of his visit was a decision to establish the Transkeian General Council and its subsidiary district councils under a formal constitution. The aim of the Government was to assist the natives "to advance in knowledge and prosperity" and the objects were stated to be *inter alia*: "That they (the natives) should have a reasonable voice in the management of the internal affairs of the country" and "that they should be provided with the means of carrying out the local works and other useful services which are deemed necessary and desirable".

During the year 1911, a similar but independent system was inaugurated in the three districts of Western Pondoland. As from 1st January, 1931, the Transkeian Territories and the Pondoland General Councils amalgamated into one body, the present United Transkeian Territories General Council, the area of jurisdiction of which now embraces 26 magisterial districts having a native population of over a million and a quarter living under communal conditions in an area of 15,452 square miles.

¹ The Transkei is a district in Cape Province, South Africa.

Each district council normally meets six times a year and consists of the Magistrate who is Chairman and six or seven native members. The General Council meets annually for about a fortnight at Umtata with the Chief Magistrate of the Transkeian Territories as Chairman. The native members number 82 (45 appointed by the district councils, 26 by the Governor-General, and 7 by the paramount chiefs who are themselves members *ex officio*). The magistrates of the 26 districts are also members of the General Council but these, while taking part in the discussion, do not vote.

Debates cover a wide range of subjects, embracing every aspect of native administration, social and economic services and general development, as well, of course, as the administration of its own domestic affairs.

The district and general councils are constituted as advisories to the administration, associating the people with the control of local funds, giving them a voice in the disposal of affairs intimately affecting their own interests, training them to constitutional methods of expressing their wishes in regard to general and local policy, and also keeping the Government and officers immediately in charge of the administration of the Transkeian Territories in touch with native feeling.

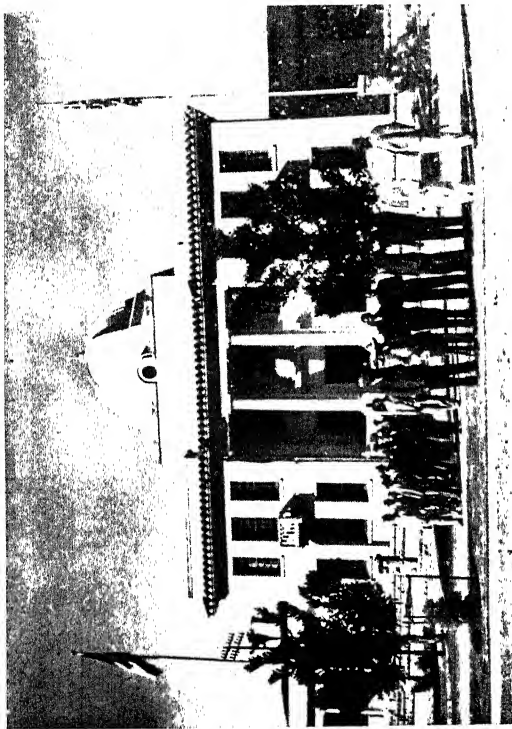
The clearest picture of the relation in which district councils stand to the General Council in local administration can be obtained by regarding the former as individual parts of a single body. They are the local executive organs of the General Council which distributes amongst them such duties as road maintenance, dipping operations, the supervision of location commonages, etc., whilst remaining financially responsible for their actions. They have no separate income or expenditure, but there is one common treasury to which all revenues flow and which is chargeable with the cost of the different services authorized. This arrangement, while sufficiently fluid to allow play to the individuality of the various members and keep their interests active, gives a financial stability to the organization as a whole which it would otherwise lack, promotes economy, and ensures the necessary financial control over administrative action. The

amalgamation of resources renders possible the undertaking of projects which would be beyond the means of any single district organization.

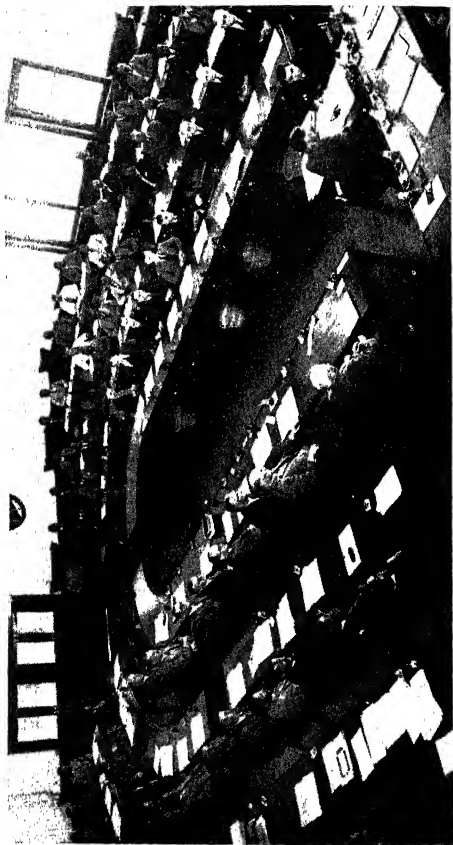
The Chief Magistrate of the Transkeian Territories is Chief Executive Officer of the General Council. He presides over bi-monthly meetings of the executive committee consisting of three magistrates appointed by him and four native councillors nominated by the General Council to hold office for a triennial period.

The Council had reached the peak of its development at the time of the outbreak of the Second Great War: it was unfortunate that some of its activities had necessarily to be curtailed owing to war-time and post-war conditions, the effects of which are still being felt. Since the cessation of hostilities a re-orientation of Council activities has taken place and some services for which the Council has hitherto been responsible, such as the development of water supplies, anti-erosion work, and the subsidizing of the purchase by natives of well-bred male stock, have been transferred to the South African Native Trust.

In practice, matters are dealt with under the Council system on the following lines: In a court-house in some district magistracy, a district council holds its bi-monthly meeting under the chairmanship of the Magistrate who is also Native Commissioner. A proposal is brought forward to have a bridge made over some stream which impedes traffic in the rainy season. The question being raised, other councillors press the need for bridges in their own neighbourhoods and after some discussion, the district council (usually with the guidance of the Native Commissioner) decides upon the most urgently needed bridge or bridges. The Chairman then communicates with Council headquarters at Umtata with a view to obtaining the services of a member of its engineering branch to survey the proposal and furnish an estimate of cost. When the district council is called upon to submit its estimates of revenue and expenditure for the ensuing financial year, the cost of the construction projects already approved by it is included. Upon receipt at Council headquarters of the estimates



The General Council Buildings of the "Bunga", at Umtata, with members of the Council



A view of the "Bunga" at Umtata where local government matters are being discussed

submitted by the various district councils, these are collated and the respective merits of the bridge construction proposals submitted by district councils are considered upon a basis of relative urgency and with regard to the financial resources available. The costs of the most urgently needed projects are included in the estimates recommended to the General Council for approval. Councillors have the opportunity, when the estimates are before the House, to debate the respective merits of their claims, subject, however, to the wise rule that no addition to the estimates may be moved without moving a corresponding deduction, so that the balance between revenue and expenditure will not be disturbed. The construction of a bridge, being a major work, will be carried out by the General Council under the supervision of the engineer and his staff. Minor works are carried out by the district councils with, if necessary, the advice of an engineering officer.

THE QUEEN OF TONGA AND OUR JOURNAL

In the first issue of *Parliamentary Affairs* published a year ago we printed an article by Sir Harry Luke on the Legislatures of the British Pacific Islands. Included in the article was a survey of the Constitution of Tonga which, though not British territory, is an independent monarchy under British protection. The following message from the Queen of Tonga will interest our readers:

"I have read with much interest Sir Harry Luke's article on Legislatures of the British Pacific Islands, published in the first issue of *Parliamentary Affairs*, the Journal of the Hansard Society.

"I appreciate very much the references to Tonga, particularly the references to Tonga's Parliament in which we take much pride.

"I wish the new Journal of the Hansard Society a very successful career."

We print on the next page a facsimile of the covering letter to Sir Harry Luke.



R.L.NO. 52/48.

The Palace,
Nuku'alofa,
29th Apr. 1948.

Sir,

I have read with much interest Sir Harry Luke's article on " Legislatures Of the British Pacific Islands", published in the first issue of " Parliamentary Affairs " which you were kind enough to send me.

I should be most grateful if you would be good enough to convey to Sir Harry Luke on my behalf the enclosed message of appreciation.

I am, Sir,

Your True Friend,

S. Johnson

C. W. T. Johnson, Esq.,
H.B.M.'s Agent and Consul,
The Residency.

THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT—II

The Hansard Society, as members know, is not only concerned with the Parliament at Westminster but with all democratic legislative assemblies at or above the State or Provincial level throughout the world. It is, therefore, right that the Society's journal should include articles on the institution of parliament as it has taken form outside Britain. We continue in this issue the series of extracts from the pamphlet Our American Government which was reviewed in Issue 3, Volume 1, and from which we printed extracts in Issue 4, Volume 1. These extracts, by the method of question and answer, seek to tell the story of the history and functions of the American Government. This is a subject of vital importance at the present time and we commend the questions and answers which follow to our members and to other readers of Parliamentary Affairs.

Question: What technically constitutes the Capital of the United States?

Answer: The District of Columbia, comprising territory granted to the Federal Government under the terms of the Constitution, article I, section 8, is the permanent seat of Government of the United States.

Question: Why is the building in which Congress meets spelled "Capitol" while the Federal District is the "Capital".

Answer: "Capital" is from a Latin adjective *capitalis*, derived from *caput*, meaning head. From this primary meaning it came to denote chief, or principal; and hence, the principal town, i.e., the town which is the official seat of government of a country, State, etc.

"Capitol" meant originally the temple of Jupiter, on the Mons Capitolinus in Rome. The derivation was from the same word *caput*. This Roman capitol was the centre of the official religion of the State and in it the senate and other legislative bodies held their meetings.

The two words are thus fundamentally the same, but the term "capitol" goes directly back to a specific edifice which

served the Roman State as our Capitol serves the United States, as a meeting place for the legislature.

Question: Was the Capitol building¹ designed and built as a unit in its present form?

Answer: No. The original building was constructed on plans drawn by Dr. William Thornton, and with interruptions was completed in 1827. The present Senate and House wings were built after designs by Thomas U. Walter (between 1851 and 1859) and necessitated a new dome, which was completed in 1865.

Question: What change in exterior construction of the Capitol has been seriously proposed in late years?

Answer: Before the present dome was even completed, Mr. Thomas U. Walter, then Architect of the Capitol, drew plans for an extension of the central east front of the building, which he considered an "architectural necessity". In 1904 a joint commission recommended extension of the east front, and from the Sixty-fifth to Seventy-fifth Congresses, bills for such construction (with variations) were almost constantly before Congress. The reason, architecturally, according to the Commission's report, is that at present "on the east front, the dome does not appear to be supported; in fact it overhangs the walls of the building and seems to rest partly upon the portico".

Question: Why does the United States flag fly over the Capitol in Washington at night?

Answer: During the World War the custom originated because it was felt for patriotic reasons that there should be one building in the United States over which the flag should never cease to fly. The Capitol was selected, since it was outside military regulations, which demand the furling of the flag at sunset.

Question: Why was the White House placed a mile and a half from the Capitol?

Answer: L'Enfant, who laid out the city under authority of a board of Commissioners and the direction of President Washington, selected for the Capitol and the President's

¹See article on the U.S. Capitol in *Parliamentary Affairs*, Volume 1, Issue 2.

residence two commanding sites in the city. The fact that the locations were a mile and a half apart was welcomed by L'Enfant as conducing to ceremonial intercourse, and by the practical Washington as mitigating the importunities of the legislature, a waste of time he suffered in New York and Philadelphia.

Question: Has the mansion where the President lives, at 1,600 Pennsylvania Avenue, an official designation? And when and why was it so named?

Answer: L'Enfant's original plans called for a "President's Palace"; and while the resulting building was popularly known as the White House from a very early date, it was variously referred to in official records as President's House or Executive Mansion until the present century. On 31st October, 1901, President Theodore Roosevelt issued an Executive order, dated the White House, and the next year an act of Congress of 28th April used the same designation. So while the "White House" has never been definitely so named by Congress, the designation is officially recognized.

Question: Who was the architect of the White House?

Answer: James Hoban (a native of Ireland, who had resided for some time in Charleston, S. C.) in 1792 won a prize of \$500 offered for the best design for the President's house. Construction began in 1792, but President Adams in 1800 was the first to occupy the mansion.

Question: What is the difference between the White House and the Executive Offices?

Answer: A building to accommodate "the offices of the President" was authorized in 1902 because of congestion of the White House with the increasing amount of executive business. It was built at the west side of the White House grounds, connected with the main building by the west gallery. As reconstructed in 1934 it is a three-story building approximately 100 by 140 feet, including a Cabinet room, press room, and offices for the Presidential secretaries, secret service, and clerks, as well as telegraph rooms, telephone switchboard, etc.

Question: How can it be determined whether or not the President is at the White House?

Answer: The flag flown over the White House is taken down if the President leaves the mansion to be gone overnight.

Question: Has the District of Columbia always been its present size, geographically?

Answer: No. The District originally comprised territory ten miles square ceded by Maryland and Virginia, and accepted by Congress in 1790. The portion west of the Potomac was retroceded to Virginia in 1846, leaving the District an area of 60.1 square miles exclusive of water area.

Question: When did the United States Government move to the District of Columbia, and from where?

Answer: The seat of government was moved to the District of Columbia in 1800, from Philadelphia, where Congress had met since 1791. Only the First Congress met in New York. The second session of the Sixth Congress was the first to assemble in Washington.

Question: Have the residents of the District of Columbia ever had a vote and an elected government?

Answer: From 1871 to 1874 the District had a Territorial form of government—headed by a Governor, appointed by the President. The upper house of the assembly (the council) was also appointed by the President, but the members of the house of delegates were elected, as was a delegate to Congress. Before this, the cities of Georgetown and Washington had been governed by elected mayors and aldermen, but the city charters were repealed by the general act above cited.

Question: Who now legislates for the District of Columbia?

Answer: Congress exercises over the District of Columbia a dual authority—as the National Legislature, it enacts laws which apply to the District as to all the United States; and under the Constitution, article I section 8, it exercises exclusive legislation over the District of Columbia, and legislates on local matters. Congress, in effect, sits as a State legislature to enact laws for the District of Columbia.

Question: Is Inauguration Day a national holiday?

Answer: Inauguration Day is by act of Congress a public holiday in the District of Columbia.

Question: Does the Government do its own printing?

Answer: With minor exceptions, all printing for the United States Government must be done at the Government Printing Office. This is now the largest and best equipped printing plant in the world. Starting in 1861 with the acquisition of a commercial print shop with 46,395 square feet of floor space, the G.P.O. now occupies buildings with about three-and-a-half acres of floor space and valued at more than \$16,000,000.

Question: Is the Government Printing Office a retail book store?

Answer: The Superintendent of Documents, one of the branches of the G.P.O., is sales agent for Government publications not of a confidential nature. His office also is distribution centre for mailing of Government documents on order of Congress or Government agencies.

Question: How are Government documents available to the individual citizen?

Answer: Normally by sale through the Office of Superintendent of Documents, in the Government Printing Office. Persons wishing to keep close track of publications may subscribe to the Monthly Catalogue of United States Public Documents (\$1 a year); or if their requirements are specialized, may on application receive free a weekly price list on classified subjects. Sales of documents to the public amounted in 1936 to 10,000,000 copies.

Numerous publications issued by particular departments are available gratis through the issuing office.

Question: Are the proceedings in Congress published and preserved?

Answer: Each House, under the Constitution, keeps a journal of its proceedings. With the exception of the Journal of the Senate while in executive session, these are published among the documents of each session. The "executive journal" is not published except as the injunction of secrecy is removed by order of the Senate. Thus, in 1910 the Senate ordered it printed for the period up to 9th March, 1901, and the journals to that date are available. Journals of subsequent

years have been printed, but as the injunction of secrecy has not been removed, they are not available to the public.

The journals do not, of course, report debates, but the bare parliamentary proceedings. For a record of the debates there has been a succession of reports, overlapping in part, as follows: *Annals of Congress*, 1789-1824; *Register of Debates*, 1824-1837; *Congressional Globe*, 1833-1873; and finally and currently, the *Congressional Record*, 1873 to date.

The *Congressional Record* contains an official shorthand record of everything said on the floor by Senators and Representatives, as well as roll calls on all questions and, in an appendix, material not spoken on the floor but inserted by permission of either House—the so-called extension of remarks.

The Record is printed at the Government Printing Office. Bi-monthly the daily records are bound in paper covers, with an index; and for permanent preservation a bound edition is published for each session, in volumes of convenient size.

Question: How does the *Congressional Record* differ from the ordinary newspaper or magazine?

Answer: Perhaps the most noticeable difference is the almost complete absence of pictures and advertising. At rare intervals, charts have been carried (in black and white); but the only advertising is brief statements of the subscription rates and notices of other public documents. Also, the Record is printed twice. It comes out daily as a current record of congressional activity and at the close of the session is reprinted, with corrections authorized in the meantime.

Question: How may the *Congressional Record* be obtained?

Answer: Each Congressman and Senator receives a copy of the Record each morning following a meeting of the House or Senate. Each Member of Congress has a limited number of daily *Congressional Records*, which may be distributed free; they are usually sent to libraries, schools, or other places where they will be accessible to the public. Anybody may subscribe for the Record by writing to the *Congressional Record Clerk* at Washington, D. C. The subscription rate is \$1.50 per month.

Question: Is there anything unique about the daily Congressional Record?

Answer: Yes. It is the only publication in the United States that is not censored by some person. The language of each Member in the House and Senate is his own and no person has the authority to change it. In that way, the views of people from every section of our Nation are constantly printed in this publication. It covers practically every subject involving public affairs that is discussed. Every library, lodge, club, or other place where books and publications are retained for use of Members should have the daily Congressional Record. It may be obtained by anyone for \$1.50 per month post paid while Congress is in session. An index is printed every two weeks, and furnished to each person who receives the daily Record.

Question: What are the usual contents of the daily Congressional Record?

Answer: The Congressional Record carries a verbatim copy of the proceedings in both House and Senate (except proceedings in "executive session"). It includes notices of all bills, resolutions, and memorials introduced or filed by Members; shows all roll-call votes, and much other information not elsewhere available.

Question: Is there a national library in the United States?

Answer: The Library of Congress on Capitol Hill, Washington, D. C., has through the years become in fact a national library, serving primarily the Members of Congress, and then the Government establishment and the public at large.

Question: When was it established?

Answer: In 1800, with an appropriation of \$5,000 for purchase of books, and for fitting up a room in the Capitol to house them.

Question: How many volumes does the Library of Congress now contain?

Answer: As of 30th June, 1944, the Library collections included 7,304,181 books and pamphlets, exclusive of 1,537,168 maps, 1,664,730 volumes and pieces of music, 572,461 prints, and an estimated 7,790,616 manuscripts.

Question: Does the Library of Congress contain a copy of every book printed in the United States?

Answer: No. The Library has never purported to be a depository for all books printed in the United States. It was started as a small working collection for the use of the national legislators and increased gradually, by purchase and donations. Under the copyright law two copies of all copyrighted publications are required to be deposited with the Register of Copyrights; ordinarily these copyright deposits become a permanent part of the Library collection, but some publications are not regarded as worth preserving in this way. And there are, of course, many books published every year which are never copyrighted, and which are not of sufficient value to warrant their purchase by the Library.

Question: How long has the Library of Congress occupied a building of its own?

Answer: Since 1897. Prior to that time, the Library was housed in the Capitol, until the congestion became so great that something had to be done. By that time the collections were nearing the million mark. With the continued expansion of these collections, further space became necessary, and an annex was erected in 1939 with accommodations for about 12,000,000 volumes.

Question: Has the Library ever been struck by fire?

Answer: Yes, twice; first in 1812, when the Capitol was burned by the British, and again in 1851. In 1812 the Library was only about 3,000 volumes and the losses were replaced in 1815 by purchase of the extensive private collection of ex-President Jefferson (6,760 volumes for \$23,950). The fire in 1851 destroyed all but 20,000 out of a total of 55,000 volumes.

Question: Who appoints the Librarian of Congress, and how many Librarians have there been?

Answer: The Librarian is appointed by the President with consent of the Senate. In 145 years there have been but ten Librarians, including the present incumbent, Luther H. Evans, appointed by President Truman. Of these, three served over thirty years apiece; John S. Meehan, 1829-61,

Ainsworth R. Spofford, 1864-97, and Herbert Putnam, 1899-1939.

Question: What is the "President's flag" and seal?

Answer: By custom going back to President Hayes, the President has prescribed and used a coat of arms and a seal, but not until 1916 did he prescribe a presidential flag. The flag then adopted by President Wilson had four stars only, and this fact, among others, led President Roosevelt to consider a new design, when Congress established the rank of five-star admirals and generals. As finally promulgated by President Truman on 25th October, 1945, the new coat of arms (which is the basis of the seal and also appears on the flag) shows the eagle in full colour instead of all white, with the head turned to his own right (as is customary in heraldry) instead of to his left, and has a circle of 48 stars around the edge. The number of stars corresponds to the number of states, without any single star representing a particular State; the number will automatically change, as in the case of the flag of the United States, upon a change in number of States.

Question: Who has custody and use of the Great Seal of the United States?

Answer: The Secretary of State is custodian. He affixes the seal to all civil commissions of officers of the United States appointed by the President; this is automatic under the law. He also affixes the seal to proclamations, treaties, and ceremonial letters when so directed by warrant of the President. In all such cases the document must be countersigned by the Secretary of State.

Question: What is the origin of the great seal of the United States?

Answer: The seal is carried over from the Continental Congress, one of the very earliest acts of the new Congress (15th September, 1789) stating that "the seal heretofore used by the United States in Congress assembled, shall be, and hereby is declared to be, the seal of the United States". The design was adopted by order of the Continental Congress, 20th June, 1782, after the matter had been pending for six years. The seal has been recut three times (in 1841, 1883,

and 1902) but always in strict compliance with the original design.

Question: What is the flag?

Answer: The general design of the flag was adopted by the Continental Congress on 14th June, 1777:

Resolved, That the flag of the United States be 13 stripes alternate red and white, that the union be 13 stars white in a blue field representing a new constellation.

In 1795 Vermont and Kentucky having been admitted as States, Congress enacted that the flag should consist of 15 stripes and the union have 15 stars. As new States kept joining the Union, Congress in 1818 changed the law again, going back to 13 stripes and making permanent provision for the stars in the union to equal the number of States—the star for a new State to be effective on 4th July following admission.

Question: What is the “pledge to the flag”, and when did its use become general?

Answer: The Youth’s Companion for 8th September, 1892, carried an official programme for celebration of Columbus Day in the public schools. One item was a Salute to the Flag by the pupils, reading as follows: “I pledge allegiance to my flag and the Republic for which it stands; one Nation indivisible, with liberty and justice for all”. This was modified by the second national flag conference in 1924, so that it now reads: “I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands; one Nation indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.”

Question: What is the approved ceremony for use in schools when pledging allegiance to the flag?

Answer: If it is customary to have a flag hanging in the front of the schoolroom, it is left in its regular position for the ceremony. Otherwise a pupil is appointed to hold a flag before the school, a medium-sized flag on a short staff being preferable. At a signal from the teacher, the pupils arise in their places and stand erect with the right hand over the heart. They then bring the open right hand, palm downward, to a line on a level with the forehead, the thumb just touching the right eyebrow. Standing thus they slowly and distinctly

repeat the pledge in concert. At the words "to the flag of the United States of America" each pupil extends the right hand, palm up, toward the flag, the hand remaining in that position until the words "justice for all", and the hand drops to the side; the pledge is completed when it is dropped to the side. This ceremony is generally followed by a patriotic song.

Question: What are some of the improper uses of the flag?

Answer: It is unlawful to use the flag for advertising purposes or to mutilate, defile, or contemptuously treat it, but it is no disrespect to wash or dry clean an American flag. It is also proper to mend the flag when torn, unless it is in such bad condition that it would be a discredit to the owner if displayed.

Question: What is the Flag Code?

Answer: By act of 22nd December, 1942, Congress enacted "existing rules and customs pertaining to the display and use of the flag", and established these as a code "for the use of such customs . . . as may not be required to conform with regulations promulgated by one or more executive departments". The code is in the form of recommendations, without sanctions.

Question: What is the official salute to the flag?

Answer: During the ceremony of hoisting or lowering the flag or when the flag is passing in a parade or in review, all persons present should face the flag, stand at attention, and salute. Those present in uniform should render the right-hand salute. When not in uniform, men should remove the head-dress with the right hand and hold it at the left shoulder. In inclement weather the hat may be raised and held above the head.

Men without hats merely stand at attention, without saluting, unless they are soldiers, sailors, or marines, in which case they render the military salute.

Women should salute by placing the right hand over the heart. The salute in a moving column is rendered at the moment the flag passes.

Question: Why are flags flown at half-staff?

Answer: The flying of the flag at half-staff (from a

stationary staff) universally indicates mourning. It is the practice to run the flag first to the top of the staff and then lower it to the half-way position.

When a Member dies the flag over the Chamber, and on the Senate or House Office Building (as well as the Library of Congress) is flown at half-staff until after the funeral. Upon the death of President Roosevelt flags on all Government buildings were ordered at half-mast for a period of 30 days.

Question: What is the flag of the Americas, and how did it originate?

Answer: The flag of the Americas was adopted at the Seventh International Conference of American States at Montevideo in 1933. It is white to symbolize peace and bears three purple crosses to signify the three caravels of Columbus. Behind the central cross is a bronze sun of the Incas, commemorating all the native Indian races of the three Americas or the Western Hemisphere.

Question: What was the original name of our national anthem? When did it become our national anthem?

Answer: The original title was "The Defense of Fort McHenry". It was written in 1814 by Francis Scott Key (1790-1843), a lawyer of Frederick Md., and Washington, who, as a visitor on board a British vessel in Baltimore, had witnessed the British bombardment of Fort McHenry. The words were sung to the air of Anacreon in Heaven, and it at once gained popularity as a national lyric. It was not officially made the national anthem until over 100 years after it was written, upon approval 3rd March, 1931, of an act designating "the composition consisting of the words and music known as the Star-Spangled Banner as the national anthem of the United States of America".

Question: What response is necessary when the national anthem is played, on the part of military personnel and civilians?

Answer: All those present should stand and face toward the music; civilian men should stand at attention, removing their hats. Men in uniform should salute at the first note of the anthem, retaining this position until the last note is sounded.

EIRE AND THE COMMONWEALTH

The relation of Eire to the British Commonwealth of Nations has recently been in the news. This is partly because of the statement made on 1st October by Mr. Costello, Prime Minister of Eire, that he intended to introduce legislation to repeal the External Relations Act, the one remaining formal link between Eire and the Crown; and partly because no representative of Eire attended the conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers held in London in October.

The Hansard Society cannot, of course, express any opinion on the precise relationship which exists to-day between Eire and the British Commonwealth of Nations, but for purposes of historical record, we print the following statements made in Dáil Eireann¹ in July and August, 1948, relating to this important constitutional question.

MR. SEÁN MACBRIDE, Minister for External Affairs, made the following statement on the 20th July, 1948, when introducing the estimate for his Department:

"If we are to create a sound framework of our relations with Britain, it must be appreciated that what matters is the substance and not the form of the relationship. Political forms have sense and usefulness only in so far as they express political realities. Outworn forms which are only reminders of a historically unhappy past can only act as irritants. As irritants, they endanger and frustrate the relationship which they are intended to express and preserve.

"The British Crown may well be a traditional rallying point for the people of Britain, Australia, New Zealand or Canada. If I were an Englishman, or an Australian, I probably would feel considerable attachment to the British Crown and would attach value to the traditional forms that go with it. The descendants of the British pioneers that built

¹Copies of Dáil and Senate Reports may be consulted at the office of the High Commissioner for Eire, 33-37 Regent Street, S.W.1, or can be ordered from the Publications Sales Office, 3-4 College Street, Dublin.

the present Commonwealth under a common Crown may take an understandable pride in their common British origin. They may well choose to express their association by adopting forms that are part and parcel of British constitutional history. We in no way criticize their views. They are quite understandable. But there is no parallel between the history of the Commonwealth countries and the history of our country. We are a small country with a very different history; a history which has been one of continual struggle for survival as a nation. We take pride in our history, in our culture, in our race and in our nation. We resent anything that takes away from that pride of nationhood or race.

"We want to be friendly with our big neighbour, not merely because she is a big neighbour, but because we have many things in common. The Crown and outward forms that belong to British constitutional history are merely reminders of an unhappy past that we want to bury; they have no realities for us and only serve as irritants. I have said all these things frankly as I feel that a clear understanding of this position can only help to bring about more real co-operation. An examination of the history of the last quarter of a century will, I think, show that many of these forms in the past only served to prevent closer understanding.

"We have very close relationships, indeed, with many great countries that are far more distant from us, such as the United States, Canada and Australia. Millions of our people have lived and settled in these countries. No question of forms enter into our relationship with them, yet our relationship is always most friendly and useful."

Replying to the debate on the 21st July, **Mr. MacBride** said:

"On the question of our constitutional position, there has been quite a lot of nonsense talked on both sides of the House. Deputy Cowan has said that we are members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, that that is our position constitutionally. Our constitutional position is governed by our own Constitution. We are not members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

In reply to a parliamentary question on the 28th July, enquiring when and under what circumstances Eire ceased to be a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, **the Taoiseach, Mr. J. A. Costello**, said:

"Ireland's constitutional position is governed by the provisions of the Constitution. In particular, Article 5 avers that Ireland is a sovereign, independent, democratic State, while Article 29 recognizes that the State is, or may be, associated with the members of any group or league of nations for the purpose of international co-operation in matters of common concern.

"The constitutional position is that Ireland is a sovereign, independent, democratic State associated with the members of the British Commonwealth. The process by which Ireland ceased formally to be a member of that Commonwealth has been one of gradual development."

In the course of a reply to a further question on the 5th August, **Mr. Costello** explained the nature and basis of Ireland's association with the Commonwealth:

"Ireland's association with the Commonwealth of Nations depends on the factual position.

"This factual relationship upon which our association is based depends on the reciprocal exchange of concrete benefits in such matters as trade and citizenship rights, the principles of consultation and co-operation in matters of common concern, and on the many ties of blood and friendship that exist between us and those other great nations whose populations include so many of our own people.

"Our association with the Commonwealth is a free association which, by virtue of its freedom, can be terminated by unilateral action.

"The question whether Ireland is a republic is purely one of nomenclature which I am not prepared to discuss. Ireland by its Constitution, is a sovereign, independent, democratic State, in which all powers of Government derive under God from the people."

CORRESPONDENCE

UNIVERSITY REPRESENTATION

Sir,

May I comment on Mr. Humberstone's third article on University Representation by suggesting that there is a means of reconciling university representation with the principle of equalitarianism. As was proposed by a few M.P.s in the debates on the Representation of the People Bill, graduates could be given the choice of voting either in their residential constituency or in a University one. Undoubtedly most would choose the latter. If they did so, then a single United Kingdom Universities constituency could be created which would return as many Members in proportion to the number of graduates as the nation returns in proportion to the total number of electors. Under the Bill as enacted each M.P. is to be returned by an average of about 57,000 voters. Since there are now 229,000 graduates, the University constituency would return four M.P.s, who would, of course, be elected by proportional representation.

Unlike the Conservative proposal to restore the existing system, this plan has the disadvantage of greatly reducing the number of University M.P.s. On the other hand, it reconciles university representation with equalitarianism by eliminating plural voting and the present unequal representation of the several universities.

I am,

Nuffield College,

Oxford

Yours, etc.,

PETER CAMPBELL

Sir,

In the concluding article on University Representation it is stated quite correctly that, since 1918, nine of the University

M.P.s have been elected by proportional representation by the single *transferable* vote, but there follows the sentence: "It is claimed that the alternative vote has encouraged the candidature and election of independent members." The *alternative* vote has never been used in the University elections, and if it were it would not encourage the election of independent members.

My article in the same issue will, I hope, help to clear up this constantly recurring confusion between P.R. and the alternative vote. The alternative vote is the 1, 2, 3 . . . method of voting applied to the filling of *one* vacancy only. One M.P. can represent only one set of opinions: there can be no question of the proportional representation of several opinions unless several M.P.s are elected at a time.

Yours faithfully,
ENID LAKEMAN

The Proportional Representation Society,
82 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1

A SOUND RECORD OF PARLIAMENT

Sir,

As I have been associated from the outset with various proposals to record the proceedings of Parliament, I should like to draw the attention of your readers to one or two points which may interest them.

During the war I prepared some notes in connection with a proposal that Mr. Churchill's speeches in the House of Commons should be recorded.¹

This proposal was misunderstood, and Mr. Churchill withdrew it in good natured deference to the opposition which it aroused in the House of Commons. I sat in the Gallery at the time and was astonished at the enthusiasm which greeted the withdrawal of a suggestion, the adoption of which would have greatly benefited posterity.

On leaving the B.B.C. and setting up my own Recording

¹Mr. Fletcher was then Recorded Programmes Director at the B.B.C.

Organization at the end of the war, I made it my business to go into the matter in detail and to collect as many as possible of the reactions of Members and Officials concerned, as the result of which I came to the following conclusions:

(1) Many people confuse Recordings with Broadcasting and imagine that a Record must, *ipso facto*, become available to the public.

(2) Because of this it is feared that Members would fashion speeches in the House with one ear on the reactions of their Constituents.

(3) It is feared that the selection of speeches for recording might become invidious.

To those who, like myself, maintain a Recording Service quite independent of any Broadcasting concern, such fears appear groundless. In none of the Conferences that I have recorded, either in this country or on the Continent, has there been any sign that recording in any way influenced the speeches of delegates. The truth is that the presence of microphones at Conferences is now such a common occurrence that they occasion no comment. I do not believe many people stop to enquire whether a recording is taking place.

I think it is probable that recording could be arranged in the House of Commons without any alteration of the existing microphone arrangements. I cannot imagine that a Member intent on catching the Speaker's eye would pause to ask a colleague "Am I being recorded?" Equipment of the type we have used at United Nations meetings in this country could be installed in a room in the House of Commons, and could be operated under the direction of the Speaker, or a Committee set up by the House of Commons for that purpose. If necessary, it could be stipulated that only certain kinds of debates were to be recorded. Some decision would have to be taken on the speeches or extracts which were to be preserved. A similar arrangement could be made in the House of Lords.

Need there be any greater difficulty about recording voices

than there is about recording words? When the popular press was as young as Broadcasting is to-day, there were similar fears about what might be done with the transcriptions taken down by reporters in the House of Commons.

There is not space here for me to deal with technical details, but whilst I disagree that a day's debate could be recorded upon a reel of wire the size of a cotton reel, it is certainly the case that the entire proceedings of a complete Parliamentary Session could be kept without difficulty in an average sized room. If it were not considered essential that everything recorded be preserved for posterity, there would be nothing to prevent wire and magnetic tape recorders using the same recording medium repeatedly, so that the cost of materials used would in fact be less than the price of the paper necessary to carry the equivalent written word.

Yours faithfully,

H. LYNTON FLETCHER,

Managing Director, Recorded Sound Ltd., London

6a Whitehorse Street,
Piccadilly, London, W.1

CORRESPONDENCE FROM GERMANY

We print below extracts from letters received from the German politicians who visited London in September under the auspices of the Hansard Society in order to study the place of Parliament in British life.

Herr Ernst H. Müller-Hermann writes from Bremen:

"After my return to Germany it is a sincere pleasure for me to give once more many thanks to the Hansard Society, for all proved hospitality and kindness and all the troubles the staff took in order to make our visit as instructive and as comfortable as possible. I would like to assure once more, that the programme was really interesting not only in regard to the facts which we were set in a position to deal with, but especially regarding the atmosphere in which English people are making their politics. Although I am convinced that every nation has its own traditions and its own experiences and what may be good for one may not necessarily be good for the other nation, I am quite sure that we Germans can learn a lot from the English nation, especially in regard to tolerance, fairness, common sense, and the sense of humour in public life. Our experiences in London will, as I hope, help everybody of the delegation to fill the frame of our new constitution with democratic actions and activities. As a second reason in favour of the visits arranged by the Hansard Society I see the fact that a better and continuous understanding between two nations can be brought about best if members of the two nations can be exchanged and have a chance to get in touch also with the ordinary men of the other nation."

Dr. Rudolf Gerstung of Hanover writes:

"Since our visit to England have passed several weeks, and the impressions I got there are still very vivid and not forgotten at all in the routine of daily work. On the contrary,

this short visit to England gave me a lot of stimulation both of political and personal kind.

"Most of the things which I found attractive and noticeable are surely matters of course for the English, especially the atmosphere of a friendly and fair working together even among followers of differing political parties. But still more I got impressed by the friendliness and generosity of everybody we had the chance to meet towards us—members of a nation which you were fighting not so very long ago. I am trying very hard to spread among my countrymen the same spirit of understanding and am of the opinion that this spirit is a necessity for future political development, nevertheless I am quite sure that at present there are still numerous obstacles to overcome. People have suffered too much by the war not to be suspicious against each other."

Fräulein Dr. W. N. Gröwel of Hamburg writes:

"I thank you from my whole heart for the pleasant days which I spent in London. I will never forget them. We do not think any more of the difficulties, but the happy days that we spent with the Hansard Society will always be a beautiful memory. You showed much of kindness and friendship, and this makes the United Nations no empty words. We learnt a lot which is very useful as we are only at the beginning of democracy and your success makes us believe in democracy."

The following is a translation of part of a letter from Dr. Heinrich Steffensmeier of Essen:

"The atmosphere in England impressed me much more on this visit than previously. Many of our people are indifferent to political affairs, but I believe that the mistrust and apathy will disappear when material conditions improve. I often say that this must be the first task of our political leaders. The work of the Hansard Society for German politicians will surely help us to achieve this because you showed us at first hand the democratic institutions and parliamentary life of England. Our political life is still domi-

nated by a too great emphasis on doctrines and ideologies: this fault has led our people astray for centuries. Even our intellectuals fail to see that political matters begin with realities and not theories. The re-education of the German people is only possible when they see the way things actually work in Britain, the things which the Hansard Society showed us in such a splendid manner. My colleagues in the group that came to England share my view of this. As far as it is within my power I shall support your objectives.

"When a German discards his narrow nationalistic outlook and examines relations between Great Britain and Germany critically, he cannot fail to see that the desire for European co-operation and understanding has increased during recent months. There are many difficulties still to be overcome before we achieve a real European community, but I believe that you in England have prepared the ground. In Germany only a minority show a similar readiness to co-operate. Your activities, your friendliness and the great trouble to which you went help us in Germany in our efforts at understanding."

BOOKS RECEIVED

The inclusion of a book in this list does not preclude its review in a subsequent issue of "Parliamentary Affairs".

BUTLER, PHILIP. Photographs by Derrick L. Sayer in collaboration with Guy Alan and John Livesey. *Houses of Parliament*. Lincolns-Prager. 9s. 6d.

COLE, MARGARET. *Makers of the Labour Movement*. Longmans, Green. 15s.

GLADDEN, E. N. *The Civil Service: its Problems and Future*. Second Edition. Staples Press. 10s. 6d.

GORE, JOHN (Editor). *Creevey*. John Murray. 21s.

GORER, GEOFFREY. *The Americans*. Cresset Press. 10s. 6d.

GREENWOOD, GORDON. *The Future of Australian Federalism*. Melbourne University Press. 17s. 6d.

HARRISON, WILFRID. *The Government of Britain*. Hutchinson. 7s. 6d.

ILBERT, Sir COURTENAY. *Parliament*. Revised by Sir Cecil Carr. Third Edition. Oxford University Press. 5s.

JENKINS, ROY. *Mr. Attlee*. Heinemann. 12s. 6d.

JENNINGS, Sir IVOR. *The British Commonwealth of Nations*. Hutchinson. 7s. 6d.

MABBOTT, J. D. *The State and the Citizen*. Hutchinson. 7s. 6d.

McKENNA, STEPHEN. *Reginald McKenna, 1863-1943*. Eyre & Spottiswoode. 16s.

MULES, MARY, and BUTCHERS, A. G. Revised by H. C. McQueen. *A Bibliography of New Zealand Education*. New Zealand Council for Educational Research (London: Cumberlege). 5s.

ROSS, J. F. S. *Parliamentary Representation*. Second Edition. Eyre & Spottiswoode. 15s.

UREN, MALCOLM. *Land Looking West*. Cumberlege. 21s.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

The Government publications listed on this page are mainly of parliamentary or constitutional interest. All Government publications, including Hansard for the House of Lords and House of Commons (daily parts, weekly editions or bound volumes) can be ordered through the Hansard Society.

Consolidation Bills, 1947-8. Fourth Report by the Joint Committee (Agricultural Holdings Bill). (H.L. 60-III, 121-1, H.C. 183-1.) 9d.
Fifth Report by the Joint Committee (National Service Bill). (H.L. 60-IV, 136-1, H.C. 188-1.) 4d.

House of Lords Offices. Fourth Report by the Select Committee. (H.L. 145.) 1d.

House of Lords Standing Orders. Amendments relative to Private Bills, etc. (H.L. 148.) 1d.

House of Lords Standing Orders proposed to be made under the Laying of Documents before Parliament (Interpretation) Bill. (H.L. 133.) 1d.

Hybrid Bills. Report from the Select Committee on procedure in Committee. (H.C. 191.) 3s.

Justices of the Peace. Report of the Royal Commission. (Cmd. 7463.) 2s.

Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms (House of Commons). Special Report from the Select Committee. (H.C. 187.) 2d.

Laying of Documents before Parliament (Interpretation) Bill. Amendments to be moved in Committee. (H.L. 127a.) 1d.

Parliamentary Elections, England and Wales. The Electoral Registration Officers and Returning Officers Order, 1948. 1d. Northern Ireland, The Returning Officers (Northern Ireland) Order, 1948. 1d.

Public Bills. Return for Session 1947-48. (H.C. 209.) 1d.

Publications and Debates Reports. Report from the Select Committee. (H.C. 207.) 6d.

Representation of the People Bill. Amendments to be moved in Committee. (H.L. 117a.) 2d. Marshalled list of Amendments to be moved in Committee. (H.L. 117**) 2d. Amendments to be moved on Report. (H.L. 134a.) 1d. Marshalled List of Amendments to be moved on Report. (H.L. 134**) 1d. Commons Amendments to certain of the Lords Amendments. (H.C. 146.) 1d.

Standing Committees. Return for Session 1947-48. (H.C. 210.) 3d.

Standing Orders. Report from the Select Committee. (H.C. 192.) 1s. 6d.

Statutory Instruments, etc. Minutes of Proceedings of Select Committee. (H.C. 185.) 2d. Ninth Report from the Select Committee. (H.C. 190.) 2d. Special Report from the Select Committee. (H.C. 197.) 2d. Minutes of Proceedings of Select Committee. (H.C. 198.) 1d. Reports from the Select Committee. (H.C. 201.) 1s. 6d.

Statutory Instruments. List, January to June, 1948. (72-12-6-48.) 6d.

The British Way and Purpose. Prepared by the Directorate of Army Education. (57-614.) 2s. 6d.

BOOK REVIEWS

Il Centenario Del Parlamento, 8 Maggio 1848-8 Maggio 1948. Rome: Dal Segretariato Generale della Camera dei Deputati.

By a pleasing coincidence the first Parliament of the Italian Republic has come into existence just one hundred years after the Statute granted by Charles Albert to Piedmont and the setting up of a sub-alpine Parliament at Turin; and the occasion has been marked by a splendid volume produced under the general direction of Signor Ubaldo Cosentino, Secretary-General of the Chamber of Deputies. Signor Cosentino was a member of the delegation from the Italian Parliament which recently visited the Mother of Parliaments at Westminster, and the leaders of that delegation—Signor Giovanni Gronchi, President of the Chamber, and Professor Ivanoe Bonomi, President of the Senate—are among the contributors to this sumptuous volume, well printed on good paper, which it is a joy to see in these days of austerity, with many appropriate illustrations of persons and places; it needs only a good English binding to be worthy of any library.

The year 1848 saw, not only the Statute of Charles Albert, but the attempt to create Parliamentary institutions in other parts of Italy; and admirable scholarly accounts are given of the attempt of the General Parliament of Palermo to win a constitutional Statute for Sicily (Cesare Spellanzon), of the Neapolitan Parliament of 1848-9 (Guido De Ruggiero), of the Council of Deputies at Rome in 1848 (A. M. Ghisalberti), of the Constituent Assembly of the Roman Republic in 1848-9 (Ivanoe Bonomi) in which Garibaldi and Mazzini played so noble a part, and of the contribution of Parma to the Constituent Assembly of 1848 (Guiseppe Micheli). These attempts were crushed, but Signor De Ruggiero rightly notes that the failure of such men as Poerio, by provoking

Mr. Gladstone's famous letters to Lord Aberdeen, was a stepping stone to eventual success. An essay by Signor Guido Porzio on the Anglo-French mediation in the war of 1848-9 is of special interest to English readers for the part played by Palmerston in creating the unity and independence of Italy.

It was only in Piedmont that the seed of constitutional growth then germinated, but from Turin the plant spread over the whole of Italy. In 1860 the unity and independence of the greater part of the country was achieved, though Rome, Venice and Trento were still unredeemed, and the seat of Parliament was removed a few years later to the Palazzo Vecchio at Florence. In 1870 the preoccupations of the French made possible the entry into Rome, and from that day to the present Rome has been the parliamentary as well as the religious capital of Italy, the Chamber meeting in the Palazzo di Montecitorio (the subject of a valuable note by Signor Giovanni Bach) and the Senate in the Palazzo Madama. As Signor Gronchi notes in his presidential speech to the Chamber, which is included in this volume, the Italian Parliament has ever since been the guardian of democratic liberty in Italy; and as Signor Umberto Terracini, who was President of the Constituent Assembly, points out in his introduction, independence, unity and liberty, which were the watchwords in 1848, are still the watchwords today.

The action of Parliament at notable periods is traced out by several writers. Signor Gaetano Natale deals with Parliament and the social crisis of 1890-1900, when Parliament seemed in a general disorientation to be out of touch with the nation; and Signor Luigi Gasparotto shows how Parliament in 1914-15 contributed to the refusal to side with the Triple Alliance and the decision to join the Allies. There followed the unhappy period when Mussolini seized power. Signor Tupini does not regard the "Aventine secession", when the Socialist Deputies walked out of Parliament in protest against the murder of Matteotti, as being a cause of Mussolini's dictatorship, so much as a symbol of Parliamentary weakness at the time; but it is going too far to claim it as a "proud and dignified moral protest". Matteotti, Amendola

and Gramsci are commemorated as Parliamentary martyrs by Signor Enrico Molè, and the transmogrification of Parliament under Fascism is dealt with, sadly but patiently, by Signor Piero Calamandrei.

Now a new chapter opens, and the place of Parliament in the new constitution is ably treated by Signor Meuccio Ruini. There is also an essay by Signor Giuseppe Grassi on the place of the magistracy in the new constitution, in which the British practice and Lord Jowitt's views on the separation of the judiciary and the executive are quoted with approval; and an essay by Signor Michele La Torre on the Constitutional Court provided for in the Constitution. The whole is rounded off by lists of high officers throughout the hundred years of Italian Parliamentary history.

IVOR THOMAS.

(*Mr. Thomas has been M.P. for Keighley since 1942. He was on the Editorial Staff of The Times, 1930/7, and was Chief Leader Writer to the News Chronicle, 1937/9. He was Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Civil Aviation, 1945/6, and Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1946/7.*)

The Life of William Cobbett. By G. D. H. Cole. Home and van Thal. 16s.

Makers of the Labour Movement. By Margaret Cole. Longmans Green. 15s.

Mr. Attlee. By Roy Jenkins. Heinemann. 12s. 6d.

These three books are interlocking pieces in the jig-saw of British history.

Professor Cole's *Life of Cobbett* has been unobtainable for some years but is now reissued as a third edition. In it we are given a vivid picture of Cobbett, so appropriately born at "The Jolly Farmer" Inn. The book corrects the one-sided view of Cobbett as a man forever harking back to the supposed Merrie England of his youth; a view which is based on the disproportionate fame of his *Rural Rides*. It is true that Cobbett does look back rather than forward; he never accepted the Industrial Revolution. But he was prominent in many forward-looking

movements, such as that for Catholic Emancipation, and, above all, for the reform of the old House of Commons. Moreover, he initiated in his *Political Register* a new kind of political journalism, for this paper, which appeared almost weekly from 1802 to 1838, was the forerunner of the modern political review. Cobbett was also the founder of the Parliamentary Reports. Originally appearing in 1804 as *Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates*, the publication was sold to his printer T. C. Hansard to relieve the financial difficulties which attended Cobbett's imprisonment for sedition in 1811.

Cobbett sat in Parliament for less than three years, from the first Election after the Reform Act of 1832, until his death in 1835. He was sixty-nine when he was elected, but not so old as to have abandoned his life-long attitude of asserting his rights and speaking his mind. From the first day he took his seat on the Treasury Bench, and his maiden speech opened with the words: "It appears to me that since I have been sitting here I have heard a great deal of unprofitable discussion."

Mrs. Cole's book serves to bridge the gap between Mr. Cobbett and Mr. Attlee. Cobbett was no Socialist, but he believed firmly in the rights of working men and in their abilities. The keystone of the bridge is John Stuart Mill, son of the ultra-Benthamite, James Mill, who came to see that individualism was not enough. Mrs. Cole's account of James Mill's "education" of his son makes one's flesh creep. "At three years old he was learning Greek words from cards written out in Greek and English by his father; and by his eighth year he had read a number of Greek books, including the whole of Herodotus and a highly philosophical dialogue of Plato. . . ."

There are fifteen essays in Mrs. Cole's portrait-gallery. The style is somewhat irritating; for instance, on page 8 we read that Paine had "commenced agitator": on page 177 William Morris "commenced public man": and almost every person in the book is made to commence this, that or the other. There may be a good literary precedent for this phrase, but the reviewer neither knows nor approves of it. But the book does give a vivid picture of these fifteen men, and rouses one's likes

and dislikes to a marked degree. Of the two comparatively unknown men in the book, John Mitchell, the Co-operator, and Robert Applegarth, the Trade Unionist, the first seems to the reviewer quite repelling, the second delightful. Robert Owen is most attractively drawn, as also is William Morris. Mrs. Cole shows that Morris was by no means the mere dilettante he is sometimes supposed, as witness the setting-up of his own business, "William Morris & Co.", to make the beautiful household furnishings that he so passionately believed in. Robert Blatchford stands out as the gay cavalier of Socialism: as Mrs. Cole says, his paper, *The Clarion*, "made Socialism seem as simple and universal as a pint of bitter". There is an interesting similarity between Blatchford's career and Cobbett's.

With Keir Hardie we approach the modern Labour Party. Here at last was the independent Labour Member come to Westminster, riding to the House of Commons on a cart, wearing his cloth cap and escorted by a brass band. Behind Keir Hardie's showmanship lay an integrity seldom matched in politics. Following Keir Hardie come vivid sketches of Sidney Webb, "Uncle Arthur" Henderson, George Lansbury, and finally—and rather surprisingly—H. G. Wells.

In Mr. Jenkins's "interim biography" of the Prime Minister we are shown a man who like earlier Labour leaders believes firmly in the rights of working men. But he is himself of the middle-class, and we are shown his conventional early life at Haileybury and at Oxford. On an October evening of 1905, Mr. Attlee, newly started at the Bar, went to the East End to look at a Boys' Club, and stayed there—apart from his absence during the first War—until his marriage in 1922. Life in Stepney converted Attlee to Socialism. In his own words: "I was not converted by the logic of Karl Marx. . . . Most of us become Socialists through our hearts first and our heads afterwards. It was certainly so with me. I felt there was nothing in the world so worth doing as trying to alter conditions." Mr. Jenkins tells us in an illuminating (but clumsy) passage that "Middle-class society was not claustrophobic to him (Attlee). It was the horrors outside it, and not those within, that made

him wish to break down its walls. It was a desire, not to destroy his social background, but to extend to all the benefits that he himself had enjoyed which impelled him."

Hard slogging at propaganda, war service and local politics (he was Mayor of Stepney in 1919-20) prepared Attlee for Parliament. In 1922 he was elected for Limehouse at the age of thirty-nine. This seat he has never since lost, not even in the landslide of 1931.

We are given a glimpse of Attlee as Under-Secretary at the War Office in 1924; as one of the Temporary Chairmen of Committees, an appointment which caused him to make a thorough study of Parliamentary procedure; as a member of the Simon Commission on India, from which he gained a now shattered reputation as a reactionary on Indian affairs. Then in the second Labour Government he became Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and later Postmaster-General.

It was after the Labour eclipse of 1931 that Attlee became Deputy-Leader of the Party. With so small a Labour Party in the House there was cast upon him an incredible burden of debate. Following the stormy Brighton Conference of 1935, Lansbury resigned the leadership and Attlee succeeded him. For the moment this seemed merely a stop-gap arrangement, but after the Election of 1935 Attlee was re-elected Leader, in spite of the return to Parliament of many prominent Socialists who had been exiled in 1931.

Mr. Attlee emerges with considerable credit from the confused years leading up to the Second World War, and of course from the War itself. We leave him returning to Potsdam as Prime Minister.

The reader gets a sense of three main qualities in Mr. Attlee; liberalism, competence, and a complete absence of self-seeking. The author tells us "Attlee was never a Liberal". One feels this is true only in the technical party sense. His competence may be summed-up in Lansbury's comment at the time of his election to the leadership of the Party: "Clem is well able to handle anything that comes up." Of his selflessness the whole book is eloquent.

"The Grayson Incident" and even "Poplarism" are terms

too esoteric to remain unexplained as Mr. Jenkins leaves them, but happily they are explained in passing by Mrs. Cole.

The men portrayed in these books are bound together in sharing the sentiment of Colonel Rainboro, who, in debate with Cromwell, declared: "The poorest he that is in England has a life to live as the richest he."

RONALD DAVIES.

(*The Hon. Ronald Davies, M.A., is a Barrister-at-Law, Gray's Inn, 1948.*)

Parliamentary Representation. By J. F. S. Ross. Eyre & Spottiswoode. 15s.

The main value of the revised edition of *Parliamentary Representation* lies in the new Part IV which supplements the information and statistics relating to Members of Parliament elected between the wars with similar facts about Members elected in 1945. Many interesting points emerge from this new section.

The Parliament which came to an end in 1945 was, for a variety of reasons, composed of a high proportion of elderly Members. The average age of Members at dissolution was over 60, whereas the average age of the adult population of the country was about 45. Much has been said and written about the exceptional youthfulness of the Parliament elected in 1945, but Dr. Ross disposes of this myth. The average age of Members after the 1945 election was only two months short of 50, which is higher than the average age of the adult population and, more surprisingly, higher than the average age after the five inter-war elections. Further, the average age of Labour Members was higher (as it always has been) than that of either Conservatives or Liberals.

What was unique about the House of Commons elected in 1945 was the high proportion of *new* Members—324 compared with 79 after the previous election ten years earlier.

The broadened appeal of the Labour Party in the last decade is shown in the changed educational background of Labour M.P.s. Dr. Ross wrote in 1943: "The figures provide ample justification for calling the parliamentary

Conservative Party the public-school party, the Liberals the secondary-school party, and Labour the elementary school party." Yet it is interesting to notice that 23 per cent. of the Labour M.P.s in the present Parliament have had a public school education, whereas the corresponding figure for the adult population of the country is only 2 per cent. Furthermore, the proportion of Labour M.P.s with a public school education is two-and-a-half times greater in the present Parliament than the inter-war average for Labour M.P.s. Similarly, one third of the Labour M.P.s elected in 1945 had been to university, and this figure is more than twice the inter-war average for Labour M.P.s.

When we turn to the normal occupations of Labour M.P.s we find a similar situation. In the present Parliament there is a 400 per cent. proportionate increase compared with the inter-war average in the number of Labour M.P.s who are solicitors, a 175 per cent. increase in barristers, and a 90 per cent. increase in teachers and lecturers. The occupations showing a decrease are all of a manual nature (metal workers, wood workers, miners, and textile operatives). On the other hand, there is little change in the occupations of Conservative M.P.s in the present Parliament compared with the inter-war period.

A point about the Parliamentary Labour Party which is worth notice is the reduction of the proportion of trade union officials from half the total Members in inter-war Parliaments to less than one-third to-day. It is also significant that 56 per cent. of the present Labour M.P.s have served on local authorities, the corresponding figures for both Conservatives and Liberals being 25 per cent.

All who are interested in parliamentary affairs will profit from a study of the information which Dr. Ross has collected. Whether all will agree with his conclusions is much more doubtful. Dr. Ross believes that our parliamentary institutions are conducted in such a way that "the elector is precluded from using his vote in a way that is consistent with his natural dignity as a thinking human being or consonant with his rights as a citizen". He suggests as remedies certain financial

reforms and the institution of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote. Dr. Ross believes that by this method the maximum number of electors will be represented in Parliament. Few will quarrel with this conclusion, but some will ask if this is the essence of parliamentary democracy. It may well be that at the present stage of political education the electors prefer to choose every four or five years not a House of Commons that reflects every shade of public opinion but a government which will pursue a clearly defined policy. It may be that in time these two objects will be found to be compatible.

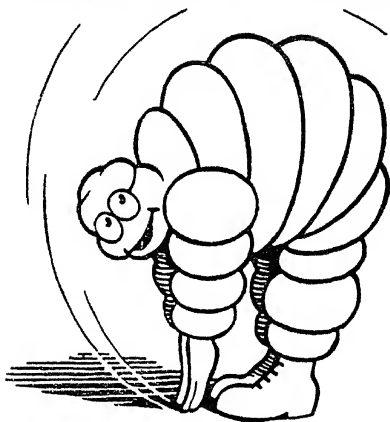
S. D. B.

IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT

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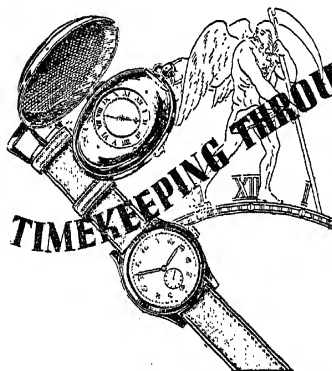
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